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[MONTHLY, ONE PENNY.]

UNDER MARTIAL LAW.

THOSE of our friends who lend support to our outdoor propaganda meetings will be aware that for the past week or two those meetings have been suspended. Also, readers of this issue will notice that the Lecture List which until this date has appeared on the back page of this our official organ, has now been withdrawn. These occurrences demand some few words of explanation, which are offered here.

When the war broke out in August the Socialist Party unflinchingly proclaimed the Socialist position in relation to it. From our platforms and, at the first opportunity, in the columns of our organ we took up the clear and definite attitude dictated by Socialist principles and working-class politics. This attitude, it is quite needless to say, was neither popular nor free from peril. It drew down upon us on the one hand the hostility of the rampant jingo hooligans of the streets, and on the other hand the "patriotic" fury of certain parasites "dressed in a little brief authority."

Our object was not to bid defiance to a world gone mad, but to place on record the fact that in this country the Socialist position was faithfully maintained by the Socialists. With this object in view we placed our backs against the wall and fought. Our platforms were smashed up and our members injured by mobs egged on by bourgeois cowards who, as usual, had not the spunk to do their own fighting for themselves. Not this only: one of our speakers was arrested and imprisoned, while others were dragged before the magistrates and "bound over to keep the peace." In some instances the proceedings were rounded off by the victims being discharged from their employment by their "good, kind masters" for daring to hold political opinions of their own.

We fought this fight long enough to achieve our purpose. In the columns of the last four issues of the **SOCIALIST STANDARD** stand recorded our actions in this crisis, showing to the working class of the world that the Socialist Party in this country, acting in accordance with its declared principles, kept its hands clean in this, the most momentous crisis of its history. That is an asset to carry forward to the time when the war is finished.

But now we are faced with a new situation. On the 28th of November last were issued Orders in Council (Defence of the Realm [Consolidation] Regulations) which render the prosecution of our propaganda a work of extreme peril. The following extracts from the Regulations will serve to show the nature of the impediment we are up against.

27. No person shall by word of mouth or in writing or in any newspaper, periodical, book, circular, or other printed publication spread false reports or make false statements or reports or statements likely to cause disaffection to His Majesty or to interfere with the success His Majesty's forces by land or sea or to prejudice His Majesty's relations with foreign powers, or spread reports or make statements likely to prejudice the recruiting, training, discipline, or administration of any of His Majesty's forces, and if any person contravenes this provision he shall be guilty of an offence against these regulations.

57. A person found guilty of an offence against these regulations by a court-martial shall be liable to be sentenced to penal servitude for life or any less punishment.

In face of these restrictions and penalties the Executive Committee of the Socialist Party decided to suspend propaganda meetings for the time being, and called a meeting of Party members, at which meeting their action was endorsed.

We are aware, of course, that we lost an unique opportunity of indulging in heroics. We shall be told, perhaps, that we ought to have gone on in defiance of the powers that be till we went down in a blaze of fireworks. Our view, however, was the sane one dictated by our avowed principles. We have always held that the supreme power is in the hands of those who control the political machine. The most we could hope for by going on was to prove that contention. But it is not for us to prove our contentions by acting in opposition to them.

There was no question of fighting for Socialism or Socialist principles. The Regulations were not, as far as we could judge, in the nature of anti-Socialist legislation. They were merely the precautions ordinarily resorted to by countries embroiled in a serious war. For this very reason we had nothing to gain by running counter to the Regulations, for just as the temper of the working class is, at the moment, such as to prevent them benefiting from our propaganda, so it would prevent them learning anything from our victimisation or martyrdom. Clearly, then, it was our tactics to place ourselves in such a position that only by the Regulations being strained to the point where they would become obviously anti-Socialist could we fall victims to them. These tactics demanded, in view of the risk of having our spoken words twisted and distorted in the Courts, that we suspend propaganda meetings for the time, and confine our activities to such forms of propaganda as would secure us from any attack that did not reveal the deliberate intention of our opponents to crush us under the cloak of the present situation.

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

STRANGE ECONOMICS.

LET IT BE GRANTED. By W. T. CARLING. 6s. net. London: Elliot Stock, Paternoster Row.

One of the saddest things in the world is an utterly futile and useless book. In such is reflected with peculiar vividness the most diabolical features of the present social system. Because some crank imagines he has a message for the world he wastes his time wearing out good pens and consuming good ink; and because he can afford to pay for the indulgence of his crankiness, printers and publishers will waste further good material and further social energy, from the compositor's labour at the bottom of the tree—ahem—to the reviewer's efforts at the top—haw! haw!—in the weary work of presenting to the public, books that the public does not want.

The appalling waste entailed in the production of the unasked volumes of those who can carry the burden of them upon their financially broad backs, embitters the reflection of those of us who know what the world is losing in the Great books which are waiting to be written, and must wait till our ship comes home, or we catch a vessel asleep, which is the allegorical presentation of a publisher with a tile loose.

But there is balm in Gilead to those who know that when the workers emancipate themselves, and so doing, emancipate all mankind, without distinction of race or sex, and without exclusion even of publishers and reviewers, the publication of an author's lucubration will not depend upon his lubrication—of his publisher, of course.

For it is hardly conceivable that in the good time coming, when the paper it is proposed to use in the making of books is the community's paper, and time and energy it is proposed to expend in the composition and printing of books is the community's time and energy—it is hardly conceivable, I say, that in that good time, the community will consent to the making of books that it does not want.

Not that these reflections are to be taken as directed upon the volume under review, which is by no means utterly useless, since it affords opportunity for a few lines of "copy," and so, in these hard and distressful times, follows Caesar's mortal remains in the lowly but still useful turn of stopping a gap. (That's half a column out of nothing.)

Mr. Carling has written a most peculiar book. It is a motley medley which leaves one in doubt whether he is a visionary who has had his brain turned by the crumbs which have fallen from the scientists' table, or a scientist who has been caught in the backwash of some religious revival and swept off his trotters. The truth doubtless is that he is a fanatic, a victim of a chronic form of religious mania, who has gone to the scientists and philosophers, not to discover the "eternal truth" he gabbles so pedantically about, but to pick up formulas and axioms and terms of logic wherewith to manufacture a quasi-scientific hotch-potch of sophistry to bolster up his religious beliefs.

Mr. Carling, by way of throwing light on the title of his book, tells us that: "The ancient mathematician being desirous of communicating his mental discoveries to his students, . . . found it was necessary to have a base upon which he could build up his problems—a base which, however, his students would agree to accept. . . . Therefore he sought a few simple dogmas, which might be called revealed truth—something seen, discerned, not deduced. . . . instead of asserting that these things were so, he appealed to his students to 'let it be granted'—that these things are so."

This, of course, is an excellent beginning. The frank recognition that in all reasoning one must start with something granted, for the simple reason that "nothing can be evolved or deduced out of nothing," gives a sort of scientific glamour to the book, while not committing the author in any way. For it is quite obvious that whether what is "evolved or deduced" is sense or nonsense, it is equally true that one must start with something granted. Hence the recognition of this fact by no means compels the philosopher to build up his arguments on sense. Having said so much it becomes opportune to

give an illustration of Mr. Carling's method.

He requests the reader to take for granted certain axioms, starting with the unassailable one that "Identical results are produced from identical causes." He follows with other sound statements, and having impressed his readers with the infallibility of his "revealed truth," arrives presently at this: "That (sic) if two principles can be shown to be antagonistic to each other, then both cannot further the Kingdom of God."

This is our author's way. He starts out with obvious truths known of ages, as one who should say "water is wet," and having got so far on the crutches of "revealed truth," he flings them away and rushes on in the seven-league boots of revealed rubbish. All his talk of "revealed truth" has to come under the drop hammer of "the Kingdom of God"; all his conclusions have to be proved by Scriptural quotations. He criticises pretty freely all round, but the only remedies he finds or offers are the idiocies of the Bible bangers or the futilities of the "brotherly love" propagandist or the novelist who tries to project a social system which has no basis.

For instance, Mr. Carling, who, like so many opponents of Socialism, is quite alive to many of the evils that afflict the working class under the present system, hankers after "the Kingdom of God upon earth" as the remedy—as far, that is, as any remedy is, in his opinion, desirable. The only "economic" basis for this social system (!) is that indicated in our author's appeal: "Let this be granted as the perfect law of life: 'All things therefore whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, even so do ye also unto them.'" The result the author sees arising out of the voluntary adoption of the "golden rule" is what he, with his penchant for impressive titles, calls, "Ideal Equity." His definition of "Ideal Equity" is: "The equity of value in exchange measured in periods of labour spent in the production of the articles being exchanged." (How blind, that he does not see that this is the very basis of exchange under the present sorry scheme of things, and results in the "Ideal Equity" of all owners of exchangeable things as such, which means the real subjugation of those whose only exchangeable possession is their labour power!)

Mr. Carling professes to think that with the adoption of this "perfect law of life" a "social revolution would be achieved unequalled by any previous reformation recorded in history." He tells us that under guidance of this rule "whatever wages or salary one received should be the rate by which he paid all those whom he employed to serve his own personal requirements." "The minister would only receive an hour of any other man's labour which he demanded in exchange for an hour of his own labour. . . . The carpenter would give one hour's work for one hour's legal labour. The professor would not sell his skill, but would give one hour of his valuable labour for one hour's work of the bricklayer [not at all valuable, of course] to build his home." And so on.

How interesting he makes things when the "Direct Labour" maniac runs amok!

Just fancy Dr. Poundpoison approaching that sturdy buck-navy Bill Slinggravel in three terms: "Slinggravel, you don't look quite up to the mark. What is it—liverish? Feel tip-top! Nonsense, man! Anyone can see you've one leg in the grave. I've got a little job in your line and you had better let me patch you up long enough to enable you to do it. What's that? Ted Floorbasher's wife at the last gasp! Well, let him look for a doctor who wants a car-penter—I want a navy." Or just think of our dear brother in Christ taking his shirt down to the laundry and asking to be permitted to wash the laundress in the blood of the Lamb as an equivalent under the scheme of "Ideal Equity" for the washing of his aforesaid garment, or the same sweet and reasonable servant of God bargaining on his doorstep with the milkmen for one Imperial quart of new milk against X minutes product—under a legal standard pressure of frenzied fervour—of the pure milk of the Blessed Word. Or try to realise the same happy purveyor of spiritual nourishment trying to find a butcher who desired to effect the exchange of a miraculously measured joint of "prime South-down" for its "ideal" (equivalent of the Lamb of God!

Mr. Carling is "convinced that the redistribution of the wealth of the nation . . . in accordance with the will of God" can only be effected by the adoption of the "Golden Rule." Like all those particular Christians who aspire to the realisation of the "Kingdom of Heaven upon earth," our author seems to have no idea of the existence of economic laws. He does not appear to realise that there is no way open to the human mind, as far, at least, as our present knowledge goes, of equating the product of one kind of labour against that of another, except the means provided by competition. That one commodity is only able to discover its equal for the purpose of exchange through the operation of the economic laws engendered by competition is nothing to this nonchalant fellow. He bawls for the voluntary withdrawal of one of the vital props of the social structure—the very king-post of capitalist exchange. What care he whether the whole economic roof tumbles about his ears? It is doubtful if he even thinks about it, for he has only to say "Let it be granted that angels will uphold," or "Let it be granted that He shall feed his flocks," and the economic roof will be of heaven, and quite independent of support below.

The "economics" of Mr. Carling have been dealt with at such length in order to show the depth and profundity of yet another opponent of Socialism who starts out on the search for "truth" armed with a collection of scientific tags to aid him in his quest, and one infallible touchstone by which all things that come in his way are tested—the Scriptures. Anything he and such as he may level at the Socialist proposition surely needs no further defence from our side than is provided by the exposure of the utter futility and folly of their remedies. Mr. Carling says that he is "convinced that Socialism is powerless to bring about the establishment of the Kingdom of God upon earth. For it aims at the gratification of natural desires." The wealthy advocate of individualism, he says, "sees correctly that it is only possible for a few people to fully satisfy their natural desires, because such satisfaction can only be achieved at the expense of a great many other people who must labour without receiving sufficient remuneration to fully satisfy their desires." The natural desires, then, are such as may be satisfied by and with the products of human toil. The logic of this is that the "Kingdom of God on earth" is to be a kingdom of poverty, wherein the gratification of natural desires is deadly sin. One would almost wonder, therefore, what Mr. Carling has to complain of in the present social system, and it appears that almost his only ground for dissatisfaction is that under it the miserably attenuated existence to be imposed in the "Kingdom of God upon earth" is not quite universal. Well, it certainly would be if our author's ideas under the caption "Ideal Equity" were carried out—which, perhaps, reveals the method in his madness. A. E. J.

STOCKPORT.

Will those sympathising with our principles living in or around Stockport communicate with TOM SALA, 48 MAYFIELD GROVE, REDDISH LANE, HORTON, from whom all particulars as to joining etc. can be obtained.

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THE LIFE HERE, OR HEREAFTER.

We are often told that evolution proceeds by cycles, wending upward as it were in helical fashion; a point of development in each period being a repetition of that below, though modified because on a higher plane. Some scientists amuse themselves by tracing these parallels with no apparent object other than surveying and marvelling, just as amateurs sometimes experiment in chemistry, amusing themselves with the effects produced, such as fermentation, explosions, and colour combinations. Occasionally, however, a parallel is drawn that has some significance and exposes the stupidity or fraudulence of those who claim superiority in knowledge and wisdom.

Grant Allen, in his "famous work," "The Evolution of the Idea of God," points out such a parallel. He says: "Thus the Cult of the Dead, which is the earliest origin of all religion, in the sense of worship, is also the last relic of the religious spirit which survives the decay of faith due to modern scepticism. To this cause I refer on the whole the spiritualistic utterances of so many among our leaders of modern science. They have rejected religion, but they cannot reject the inherited and ingrained religious emotions." And in another passage he remarks: "The fact is, the religious emotion takes its origin from the affection and regard felt for the dead by survivors, mingled with the hope and belief that they may be of some use or advantage, temporal or spiritual, to those who call upon them; and these primitive faiths and feelings remain so ingrained in the very core of humanity, that even the most abstract of all religions, like the Protestant schism, cannot wholly choke them, while recurrences of the original creed and custom spring up from time to time in the form of spiritualism, theosophy, and other vague types of simple ghost worship."

Rather a long quotation, and not fully appreciated until read in conjunction with the recent statement by Sir Oliver Lodge: "We ourselves are not limited to the few years we live on the earth; we shall go on without it. We shall certainly continue to exist. I say it on definite scientific grounds. I say it because I know certain friends of mine still exist, because I have talked with them. I tell you with all the strength of conviction which I can muster, that the fact is so—that we do persist, that these people still take an interest in what is going on, that they still help us, and know far more about things than we do, and that they are able from time to time to communicate."

According to Grant Allen, Sir Oliver Lodge, obsessed with the primitive idea of the early savage, is a recrudescence to that early type. With all the advantages that civilisation and a scientific education can give him, he (like many others) is merely a specimen freak; but, as we shall see, conditioned by circumstances—just as the ignorance of the savage in the face of natural phenomena determined his beliefs. As Grant Allen says of those beliefs, "They were inevitable, and man's relation with the external universe was certain a Priori to beget them as of necessity."

Propitiation of the dead, as Spencer shows, was the fundamental idea that dominated religion in its earliest days. The aid of the spirit was evoked for the achievement of the economic aims of the living. Since then, religion has evolved every form of belief in turn that was consistent with the economic development and prevailing knowledge of each period, culminating in abstract gods like Jahveh and Allah. But science develops alongside of religion, and, in spite of religious antagonism and persecution, establishes once for all the Materialist Philosophy.

Then capitalism, dependent for its existence upon the continued ignorance of the working class, encourages every form of mystification that does not interfere with the cheapest possible methods of wealth production and the appropriation by the capitalist class of the largest possible portion of that wealth in the shape of surplus-value.

Sir Oliver Lodge is publishing evidence (!) that may either be fraudulently manufactured, or mental imagery, the result of aesthetic fasting or concentration. In either case his object is to

support religious beliefs generally and, through them, the capitalist system—an order under which every kind of chicanery and corruption flourishes. Those who feast at the capitalist board must needs justify the favours they receive. Titles are bestowed for generous subscriptions to party funds. A testimonial to the authenticity of ghosts and spooks from a distinguished scientist is received with applause by the class that see in the decay of superstition a sign that their system is over-ripe.

The motive of the scientist is more apparent than the usefulness of the actual discovery he professes to have made, until we remember a portion of his quotation: "these people [spirits] still take an interest in what is going on; . . . they still help us and know far more about things than we do."

Now the only direction in which the capitalist class need help (any help for the working class being out of the question, the spirits being nobbled by a capitalist defender) is in their combat with Socialism. The discontent of the worker increases; Socialism has grown out of its Utopian youth to its scientific and practical manhood. But if the working class are becoming practical, the capitalist class have always been so, relying upon their control of physical force in the last resort, while they fight the revolution with misrepresentation and lies. How simple must Sir Oliver be if he imagines he can spoof them with spirit legions as theirs and other capitalist ministers have boasted armies that only existed on paper.

No matter what social or biological laws are responsible for his recrudescence, it must be obvious that Sir Oliver has rushed into the conflict on the side of superstition; and the frantic expression of his absurd "convictions" provides one more instance of the poverty of capitalist philosophy, and the pitiful despair and impotence of its defenders when confronted with materialist conceptions.

This is not an extremist or fanatical conclusion, but one that is forced upon us after a careful survey of the intellectual superstructure of capitalist society. Every section of capitalist pioneers and defenders admit the tottering state of their system when they cry—as they do—Beware of the Revolution.

From ecclesiastical circles emanates a prolonged screech of horror at the growth of materialism, in their eyes a certain indication of the proximity of "the day," which they would stave off with frequent libations of charity and gospel—decidedly more gospel than charity by the way.

In political circles the fear is no less marked. The Liberal Party is prompted by it to inaugurate social reforms—that do not reform—and carry on a tremendous propaganda of promises to abolish poverty. Why they do it was admitted by Mr. Lloyd George in his 1914 Budget speech, which is typical of the Liberal mind. "There was a revolt surging up in this country among millions of men against their conditions, and unless the rich and the opulent were prepared in time to make sacrifices to lift their less-favoured fellow citizens out of their wretchedness, the day would come, and it would come soon, when they would look back with amazement and with regret to the days when they protested against a one and fourpenny extra in insurance against revolution when it came from a Liberal Government."

The Tories expose their fear by the frequency with which they accuse the Liberals of breeding class-hatred; thereby acknowledging their acquaintance with the fact that revolution is the outcome of the antagonism of classes.

But Ecclesiastics and Politicians, clinging to the conditions of their respective creeds, are sane and rational in their methods compared with Sir Oliver Lodge and his efforts to popularise spiritualism either as a soporific for the working class or an oracle for the master class. But the scientist must always appear ludicrous when he attempts to bolster up religion or capitalism; he is out of his element because science, consisting of ascertained and ordered facts, cannot be used to justify superstition and anarchy.

Science cannot be restricted to the sphere of production alone, cannot be the mere hand-maiden of industry. The pressure of numbers is felt in every profession, including scientists. They try to serve the capitalist in new ways; to

denounce materialism, however, is to deny their own offspring, the result of their collective labours; and when we find their personal opinions, as expressed, so obviously at variance with the facts they have laboriously established, we can only conclude they are actuated by material interests. Those interests, in the majority of cases, are bound up with capitalism, consequently we find that it is only on questions that affect the stability of capitalism that they differ. On such questions they contradict themselves and one another in the wildest fashion. Herbert Spencer showed the antagonism between science and religion, then pretended to reconcile them. Voltaire, described as the great Atheist and iconoclast, believed that "Natural religion was not only true, but indispensably necessary to the well-being of society." Charles Darwin, the first to define the laws that govern the evolution of life, and the most powerful opponent of the idea of creation, writes of powers having been originally breathed into the first forms; while Sir Oliver Lodge, who consistently panders to capitalism through religion, in a lapse to honesty denied the possibility of a beginning, saying: "To every past, however remote, there is an antecedent past. Nothing points to a beginning or to an end. At every point we can ask, and what before? or what after?"

Amid all the confusion and contradictory statements of those who claim to know, the worker may well ask: What can we believe? The answer is, believe nothing if believing means to accept in faith without evidence. Ignore everything unless substantiated by facts and of sufficient importance from the workers' standpoint to justify examination. When facts like the motions of celestial bodies, the igneous and stratified nature of the earth's crust, the struggle for existence among life forms, the merchandise character of labour-power, and the class struggle that springs therefrom, have been ascertained, belief is unnecessary. Such facts have become established along with all the minor experiences of life—they are known.

The problem before the working class is not: Do the dead persist? Do plants think? Is there life on Mars? These questions may interest those whose duty it is to mystify or side-track the workers. They are outside the working-class philosophy, which must find its chief concern in those economic arrangements that condemn the working class to poverty and excessive toil. Because they are a slave class, and suffer more acutely than slaves have suffered in any previous age, they must study the nature of those social arrangements, of the system that makes them slaves. The cause of their misery will then become apparent to them; the class ownership of the means of wealth production. This class ownership is one of those established facts; quite beyond dispute or question. It is the pivot and centre upon which the capitalist system works. Until private or class ownership is abolished and Socialism—common ownership and democratic control—substituted for it, there can be neither emancipation for the working class nor improvement in their condition. The only life of which we are certain is the life here and now. Capitalism with its slavery, poverty, and insecurity, makes it a pandemonium of wretchedness and suffering. Socialism alone can make life worth living for the workers because, controlling their own means of life—within the limits imposed by nature—they would, under that rational system of society, live free, happy and eminently glorious lives.

F. F.

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of the country on a larger scale will soon be necessary in the interest of capitalists at home. The acceptance of this view by the Imperial Government will spell the doom of the native's liberty and property and the chance of the settlers to realise the object that has brought them here, i.e., more profit. Probably they will even forgive the missionaries for inculcating in the native mind the notion of "brotherhood" (!) and submission. Need it be added that the natives will hardly be spared any of the horrors of wage-slavery?

What shall we say then? Are the settlers of British East Africa an exceptionally ferocious and callous set of "investors"? By no means! Go into your public libraries and hunt up Thorold Rogers' "Six Centuries of Work and Wages" or De Gibbins' "Industrial History of England," and study the record of the 15th and 16th centuries in your own land! There you will find that the progenitors of the wage-earning class were as sturdy and independent, if not more so, than the inhabitants of Africa, and that before the capitalist class rose to the position they occupy to-day, they had to use against our forefathers, men of their own colour, almost exactly the same measures as are proposed here!

Without a labour market from which to draw exploitable material, capital cannot accumulate to the extent of providing its owner with a life of idleness and ease such as the respectable owners of the land and the means of converting its products into things of use, enjoy to-day! And turn to any country you will, the actual historic fact is that the labour market is created by the forcible divorce of the workers from their means of life! East Africa, then, is no exception; but it provides a modern and vivid object-lesson! Here the Convention admits in the shape of a resolution to His Excellency the Governor, that the Government's delay in adopting their proposals resulted in "great inconvenience and financial loss" to them. Let the workers the world over take to heart the lesson, and further realise that, just as the possession of their means of life by the capitalist class is the cause of their subjection, so the ownership and control of such means for and by the workers themselves is the necessary and possible foundation of a free society! Let them further note the method, i.e., the political method, by which the ruling class have achieved and propose to extend their dominion! Not by passive strikes or individual acts of violence can the workers hope to achieve their emancipation. Only by meeting political action by counter political action will victory be won!

In conclusion may I offer a suggestion or two to your correspondent, "Engineer," re the question he raises in the April issue of the "S.S." To the extent that the coloured races are dragged into the capitalist maelstrom, they also show a tendency to adopt the standard of life and thought evolved by capitalism in Europe and America to a very large extent. There appears to be no reason why the "nigger's" consciousness should prove an exception to the general rule that the development of ideas reflects environmental changes! Further, the very rapidity of the change from barbarism and feudalism in Africa and the East should prevent any illusory notions concerning the duration of capitalism or the methods of its establishment, gaining ground there amongst the workers. To the present writer the age-long superstitions which enslave the minds of European wage-slaves who cannot remember the origin of capitalism are far greater obstacles to universal working-class emancipation than the present undeveloped condition of the intellect of "coolie labour." Here in East Africa white wage-earners are only too ready to manifest those notions of race superiority which aid the capitalist class at the expense of working-class unity! Let the Socialist Party convince the "superior" white worker of his class position and they will not find his coloured competitor either unwilling or unable to learn.

ERIC BODEN.

CHISWICK.

Sympathisers in or around Chiswick who require information as to joining, etc., should apply to

GEN. SECRETARY, S.P.G.B.
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THE SO-CALLED PRIMITIVE ACCUMULATION.

BEING PART VIII OF "CAPITAL" (Vol. I), BY KARL MARX.

THE SECRET OF PRIMITIVE ACCUMULATION.

WE have seen how money is changed into capital; how through capital surplus-value is made, and from surplus-value more capital. But the accumulation of capital presupposes surplus-value; surplus-value presupposes capitalistic production; capitalistic production presupposes the pre-existence of considerable masses of capital and of labour-power in the hands of producers of commodities. The whole movement, therefore, seems to turn in a vicious circle, out of which we can only get by supposing a primitive accumulation (previous accumulation of Adam Smith) preceding capitalistic accumulation; an accumulation not the result of the capitalist mode of production; but its starting point.

This primitive accumulation plays in Political Economy about the same part as original sin in theology. Adam bit the apple, and thereupon sin fell on the human race. Its origin is supposed to be explained when it is told as an anecdote of the past. In times long gone by there were two sorts of people; one, the diligent, intelligent, and above all, frugal élite; the other, lazy rascals, spending their substance, and more, in riotous living. The legend of theological original sin tells us certainly how man came to be condemned to eat his bread in the sweat of his brow; but the history of economic original sin reveals to us that there are people to whom this is by no means essential. Never mind! Thus it came to pass that the former sort accumulated wealth, and the latter sort had at last nothing to sell except their own skins. And from this original sin dates the poverty of the great majority that, despite all its labour, has nothing to sell but itself, and the wealth of the few that increases constantly although they have long ceased to work. Such insipid childishness is every day preached to us in the defence of property. M. Thiers, e.g., had the assurance to repeat it with all the solemnity of a statesman, to the French people, once so *spirituel*. But as soon as the question of property crops up, it becomes a sacred duty to proclaim the intellectual food of the infant as the one thing fit for all ages and for all stages of development. In actual history it is notorious that conquest, enslavement, robbery, murder, briefly force, play the great part. In the tender annals of Political Economy, the idyllic reigns from time immemorial. Right and "labour" were from all time the sole means of enrichment, the present year of course always excepted. As a matter of fact, the methods of primitive accumulation are anything but idyllic.

In themselves, money and commodities are no more capital than are the means of production and of subsistence. They want transforming into capital. But this transformation itself can only take place under certain circumstances that centre in this, viz., that two very different kinds of commodity-possessors must come face to face and into contact; on the one hand, the owners of money, means of production, means of subsistence, who are eager to increase the sum of values they possess, by buying other people's labour-power; on the other hand, free labourers, the sellers of their own labour-power, and therefore the sellers of labour. Free labourers, in the double sense that neither they themselves form part and parcel of the means of production, as in the case of slaves, bondsmen, &c., nor do the means of production belong to them, as in the case of peasant-proprietors; they are, therefore, free from unencumbered by, any means of production of their own. With this polarisation of the market for commodities, the fundamental conditions of capitalist production are given. The capitalist system presupposes the complete separation of the labourers from all property in the means by which they can realise their labour. As soon as capitalist production is once on its own legs, it not only maintains this separation, but reproduces it on a continually extending scale. The process, therefore, that clears the way for the capitalist system, can be none other

than the process which takes away from the labourer the possession of his means of production; a process that transforms, on the one hand, the social means of subsistence and of production into capital, on the other, the immediate producers into wage labourers. The so-called primitive accumulation, therefore, is nothing else than the historical process of divorcing the producer from the means of production. It appears as primitive, because it forms the pre-historic stage of capital and of the mode of production corresponding with it.

The economic structure of capitalistic society has grown out of the economic structure of feudal society. The dissolution of the latter set free the elements of the former.

The immediate producer, the labourer, could only dispose of his own person after he had ceased to be attached to the soil and ceased to be the slave, serf, or bondman of another. To become a free seller of labour-power, who carries his commodity wherever he finds a market, he must further have escaped from the regime of the guilds, their rules for apprentices and journeymen, and the impediments of their labour regulations. Hence, the historical movement which changes the producers into wage-workers, appears, on the one hand, as their emancipation from serfdom and from the fetters of the guilds, and this side alone exists for our bourgeois historians. But, on the other hand, these new freemen became sellers of themselves only after they had been robbed of all their own means of production, and of all the guarantees of existence afforded by the old feudal arrangements. And the history of this, their expropriation, is written in the annals of mankind in letters of blood and fire.

The industrial capitalists, these new potentates, had on their part not only to displace the guild masters of handicrafts but also the feudal lords, the possessors of the sources of wealth. In this respect their conquest of social power appears as the fruit of a victorious struggle both against feudal lordship and its revolting prerogatives, and the guilds and the fetters they laid on the free development of production and the free exploitation of man by man. The chevaliers d'industrie, however, only succeeded in supplanting the chevaliers of the sword by making use of events of which they themselves were totally innocent. They have risen by means as vile as those by which the Roman freed-man rose on a time made himself the master of his *patronus*.

The starting-point of the development that gave rise to the wage-labourer as well as to the capitalist, was the servitude of the labourer. The advance consisted in a change of form of this servitude, in the transformation of feudal exploitation into capitalist exploitation. To understand its march, we need not go back very far. Although we come across the first beginnings of capitalist production as early as the 14th or 15th century, sporadically, in certain towns of the Mediterranean, the capitalistic era dates from the 16th century. Wherever it appears, the abolition of serfdom has been long effected, and the highest development of the middle ages, the existence of sovereign towns, has been long on the wane.

In the history of primitive accumulation, all revolutions are epoch making that act as levers for the capitalist class in course of formation; but, above all, those moments when great masses of men are suddenly and forcibly torn from their means of subsistence, and hurled as free and "unattached" proletarians on the labour market. The expropriation of the agricultural producer, of the peasant from the soil, is the basis of the whole process. The history of this expropriation, in different countries, assumes different aspects, and runs through its various phases in different orders of succession, and at different periods. In England alone, which we take as our example, has it the classic form.¹

¹ In Italy, where capitalistic production developed earliest, the dissolution of serfdom also took place earlier than elsewhere. The serf was emancipated in that country before he had acquired any prescriptive right to the soil. His emancipation at once transformed him into a free proletarian, who, moreover, found his master ready waiting for him in the towns, for the most part handed down as legacies from the Roman time. When the revolution of the world market, about the end of the 15th century, annihilated Northern Italy's commercial supremacy, a movement

EXPROPRIATION OF THE AGRICULTURAL POPULATION FROM THE LAND.

In England, serfdom had practically disappeared in the last part of the 14th century. The immense majority of the population consisted then, and to a still larger extent, in the 15th century, of free peasant proprietors, whatever was the feudal title under which their right of property was hidden. In the larger seignorial domains, the old bailiff, himself a serf, was displaced by the free farmer. The wage labourers of agriculture consisted partly of peasants, who utilised their leisure time by working on the large estates, partly of an independent special class of wage-labourers, relatively and absolutely few in numbers. The latter also were practically at the same time peasant farmers, since, besides their wages, they had allotted to them arable land to the extent of 4 or more acres, together with their cottages. Besides they, with the rest of the peasants, enjoyed the usufruct of the common land, which gave pasture to their cattle, furnished them with timber, fire-wood, turf, &c. In all countries of Europe, feudal production is characterised by division of the soil amongst the greatest possible number of sub-feudatories. The might of the feudal lord, like that of the sovereign, depended not on the length of his rent roll, but on the number of his subjects, and the latter depended on the number of peasant proprietors. Although, therefore, the English land, after the Norman conquest, was distributed in gigantic baronies, one of which often included some 900 of the old Anglo-Saxon lordships, it was bestrewn with small peasant properties, only here and there interspersed with great seignorial domains. Such conditions, together with the prosperity of the towns so characteristic of the 15th century, allowed of that wealth of the people which Chancellor Fortescue so eloquently paints in his "Laudes legum Anglie"; but it excluded the possibility of capitalistic wealth.

in the reverse direction set in. The labourers of the towns were driven *en masse* into the country, and gave an impulse, never before seen, to the *petite culture*, carried on in the form of gardening.

(To be Continued.)

ALLIES IN SLAVERY

WHEN the present contributor had read last month's exposure of "Other Huns and other Louvains," he felt that it would not be complete without the testimony of yet another agent of the capitalist class in regard to the Congo atrocities with which the name of "brave Belgium" will be for many a long day primarily associated. We all delight in the testimony of our opponents in such matters. Said Sir A. Conan Doyle in a letter to the "Daily News," dated 3.3.1913:

"I read in your issue of March 1st the terrible letter of Mr. McCammond upon the Putumayo rubber trade, and I know well that no word of it is exaggerated. There is only one sentence to which I take exception, and that is 'Tribes are held in a bondage that is grim and far more dreadful than anything which took place in the Congo. That cannot be true, for nothing which the human imagination could conceive could be more dreadful than the deeds of the Congo, and the roasting of the two small Indian boys which your correspondent cites differs only in being on a smaller scale from a great many incidents which one might narrate.'

After pointing out that in Peru the British Government had no direct responsibility, Sir Arthur continued:

"In the Congo, however, the call of duty is clear. We have sworn (in company, it is true, of the other great European powers) that we would jointly guard the natives. The result of our guardianship has been that in less than 30 years this great country has lost at a fair computation about two-thirds of its inhabitants."

(Italics mine.)

Superstitious people might indeed see the hand of nemesis in the fate of Belgium, and as for the question of innocent and guilty, anyone further afflicted with Master Maeterlinck's logic will be able to justify the Belgian

peoples' general and indiscriminate punishment, although the chief responsibility for the Congo horrors was brought home to King Leopold. Are we not told that "the monster they maintain at their head, stands for all that is true in their nature"?

For anyone on this side to turn up such pages of history at this juncture, is, of course, to forsake all claim to respectability; it is like reminding Suffragettes engaged in a recruiting campaign, and in denouncing German vandalism, of their own exploits and attempts in burning "sacred places," etc. Hence it could not be expected of the hirelings of the inkslinging brigade of Fleet-st. to insist now on the fact that "their side" has a history full of awkward incidents. The Conan DoYLES, VANCES, etc. know it, and what is more, admit it at other times in their unguarded moments, but to state such truths now would not pay and consequently would not be respectable.

The case of the administration of the Congo is one instance, the non-observance of the Anti-Slavery Acts of Berlin and Brussels is another.

Anti-Slavery treaties were renewed and signed by Great Britain, France, Portugal, and other countries at Berlin in 1885 and at Brussels in 1890. As usual, "In the Name of Almighty God," the said Powers swore (Berlin Act, 1885, Article IX):

"In conformity with the principles of the right of nations as recognised by the signatory Powers, the slave-trade being forbidden, and operations which on land or sea supply slaves for the trade being equally held to be forbidden, the Powers which exercise or will exercise rights of sovereignty or influence in the territories forming the basin of the Congo, declare that these territories shall serve neither for the place of sale nor the way of transit for the traffic in slaves of any race whatsoever. Each of the Powers undertakes to employ every means that it can to put an end to the trade and to punish those who engage in it."

Art. VI says:

"All the powers exercising sovereign rights, or having influence in the said territories (Central Africa) undertake to watch over the preservation of the native races, and the amelioration of the moral and material conditions of their existence, and to co-operate in the suppression of slavery, and above all of the slave-trade . . ."

By the Brussels Act it was solemnly undertaken:

- (1) To put "an end to the crimes and devastations engendered by the traffic in slaves . . ."
- (2) To protect "effectively the aboriginal populations."
- (3) To ensure to that vast "continent the benefits of peace and civilisation."

Art. VI provided:

"Slaves liberated in consequence of the stoppage or dispersal of a convoy in the interior of the Continent shall be sent back, if circumstances permit, to their country of origin; if not, the local authorities shall facilitate as much as possible their means of living, and, if they desire it, help them to settle on the spot."

Yet, not only has slave-trading and slave-owning with all its attendant unspeakable cruelties and sufferings not been abolished after more than a quarter of a century, but, as the Anti Slavery Society had to admit as recently as last July, *Slavery is actually on the increase* "not only in foreign territories for which we have treaty-obligations, but even in certain British territories."

So much then for the observance of sacred treaty engagements, for "national honour," and for our own "scraps of paper"; and although the most flagrant and persistent violation of the said treaties has probably been committed by Portugal, the responsibility is nevertheless as much on Great Britain's side, since Britain is by treaty bound "to defend and protect all conquests or Colonies belonging to the Crown of Portugal." This was in fact admitted in the "Daily Chronicle" a little while ago, when it was pointed out that:

"Portugal's alliance with Great Britain has undoubtedly permitted her to violate with impunity both the Brussels and Berlin Anti-Slavery Acts by conniving for 30 years in widespread slave-traffic."

At a time when Portugal is repeatedly assuring the British Government of its readiness to support the latter in its fight for "the vindication of treaty obligations" and "national honour"; at a time when atrocities are said to be the monopoly of certain Continental Powers; at a time when the British mailed fist (in accordance with the terms of the alliance) may at any moment be called upon to defend Portugal's slave-ridden possessions in West Africa; it will be useful to draw attention to some facts and details regarding the conditions in these particular "conquests" of Britain's ally—useful because the knowledge of these things will enable the uninitiated to realize the cold-blooded effrontery of capitalist governments pretending to be concerned about upholding national or international obligations, the rights of small nations, etc. For the evidence which it is proposed to bring forward, we are chiefly indebted to two most authoritative publications, namely: Memorandum addressed in May, 1914, by the Anti-Slavery Society to Sir Edward Grey, and Mr. John Harris' book published in 1913, both on "Portuguese Slavery"; Britain's Responsibility. The Colonies in question are Angola, and the two islands of San Thome and Principe. Of the latter, Mr. Harris says:

"Whilst both islands are bountifully blessed by Providence with fertility of soil, luxuriant vegetation and crystal fountains, a curse seems to have come down upon them since the Portuguese began an effective occupation, for man not only refuses to multiply and replenish, but dies out so rapidly that if no importation took place San Thome would be without a labouring population at all in ten years, and Principe in half that time. To meet this situation an annual importation of at least 4,000 labourers is necessary"—a deficiency which the Portuguese have for years filled up with slaves.

And as to the way in which the labourers were, and are being, obtained, we cannot do better than quote the evidence as summarised by Counsel in the famous libel action brought by Messrs. Cadbury against The Standard Newspapers, Ltd., in the High Court of Justice in Birmingham in 1909. Sir Rufus Isaacs, representing Cadbury, said:

" . . . labour which certainly I think can only be properly described as forced labour, and constituting a condition of slavery. There is no issue in this case about that, and never has been. The plaintiffs themselves have come to the conclusion . . . that there was a condition which amounted to slavery in these islands."

"One of the great difficulties in connection with these plantations is the same kind of difficulty which has faced us in our Colonies,—that is, the difficulty of getting labour; and it becomes more serious when you have got to look and find your natives from the centre of Africa, bring them down by forced marches right through what appears to be a very terrible part of the country which is known as the 'Hungry Country,' and in which every attempt is made, and it may be it is necessary to be made, for ought I know, to prevent them from running away, but they are marched down in that way to the coast, and then they are shipped—that is to say, after being selected. The richest people, I suppose, in the province of Angola select the best of the slaves from the natives who are brought in (really, it is nothing else but a system of slavery) for the purpose of domestic service in their own houses. Then with regard to the next lot, apparently there is another process of selection for the purpose of finding out who are the best for industrial and agricultural purposes in the Colony, and then, so far as one can see from the reports here, the residue is what is shipped to those two islands. . . ."

Sir Edward Carson, representing the defendants, summarising the evidence, said:

"Slavery! Have you ever heard at any time of

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- STOKE NEWINGTON**.—All communications to Secretary, at 102, Farleigh-rd., where Branch meets every Monday, 8.15.
- TOOTING**.—All communications to Secretary, 127 Upper Tooting Rd., where Branch meets on Wednesdays at 8.30.
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- WOOD GREEN**.—C. Revell, Secy., 53 Maidstone Rd. New Southgate. From Jan. 11 Branch meet alternate Mondays at 8.30, at School Hall, Brook-rd., Wood Green.

THE POTTERIES.

All sympathisers with the Party living in or about Stoke, Fenton, Hanley, Crewe, and Newcastle-under-Lyme should communicate with

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ALLIES IN SLAVERY—Continued.

the world's history (and this is a broad statement) of worse conditions of slavery, have you ever heard of conditions more revolting, more cruel, more tyrannous, and more horrible than what has been deposed to as regards the slavery in San Thome? Men recruited in Angola, women recruited in Angola, children recruited in Angola, torn away against their will from their homes in the interior, marched like droves of beasts through the Hungry Country, and when they are unable to walk along for a thousand miles to the coast, shot down like useless dogs or useless animals, and the others brought down to be labelled like cattle and brought over to San Thome and Principe, never again to return to their homes. Three and a half years' life at the start until they are acclimatised is an average life of these people, and when their children are born, just as the calves of a cow or the lambs of the sheep, they become the property, not of their parents, but of the owners."

And the author of the book added:

"It cannot be argued that the forgoing description is purely that of an advocate, for the facts were never called in question. The description given by Sir Edward Carson was never challenged by anyone, and finally all those who have a personal acquaintance with Angola, San Thome, and Principe know that the words uttered by this eminent Counsel only too correctly described the actual state of affairs."

(To be Continued.)

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.

RECEIVED—
"Weekly People" (New York).
"Gaelic American" (New York).
"British Columbia Federationist" (Vancouver).
"Civil Service Socialist" (London).
"Freedom" (London).
"Cotton's Weekly" (Canada).
"Appeal to Reason" (Kansas).
"International News Letter" (Berlin).
"The Western Clarion" (Vancouver).
"The Socialist" (Melbourne).
"Industrial Union News" (Detroit).

ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

Two or three replies are unavoidably held over.

**THE SOCIALIST PARTY
OF GREAT BRITAIN.****OBJECT.**

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community.

Declaration of Principles**THE SOCIALIST PARTY of Great Britain****HOLDS—**

THAT society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master class, and the consequent enslavement of the working class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.

That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce and those who produce but do not possess.

That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

That as in the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind, without distinction of race or sex.

That this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.

That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working-class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.

That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

The Socialist Party of Great Britain, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP.

Those agreeing with the above principles and desiring enrolment in the Party, should apply for membership form to secretary of nearest branch or at Head Office.

MANIFESTO

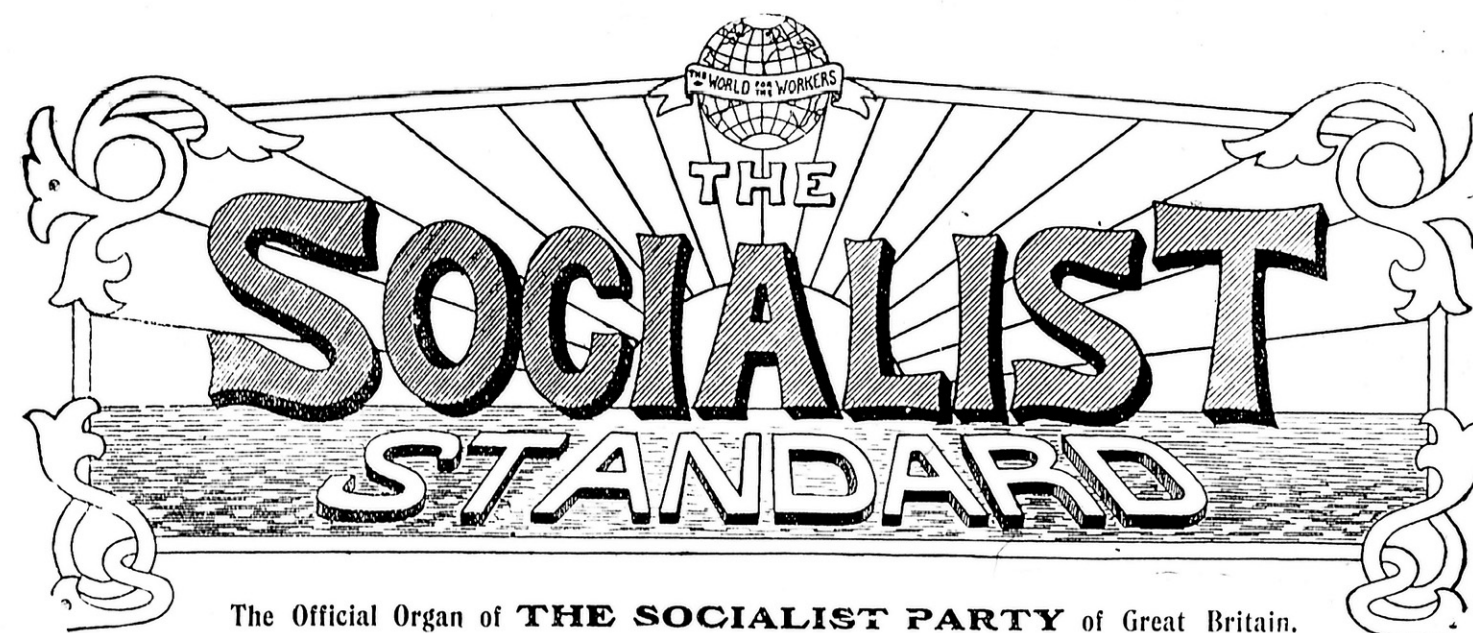
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LONDON, FEBRUARY, 1915.

[MONTHLY, ONE PENNY]

SOCIALISM AND THE EUROPEAN "SOCIALISTS."

FELLOW WORKERS OF THE WORLD.

The part played by the so-called Socialists of this and other countries in the present European situation calls for a further pronouncement by us upon the matter of the Socialist position in relation to the war.

In England, and we do not doubt in other countries too, the capitalist Press has seized with avidity the opportunity of making political capital at the expense of the Socialist Movement by parading under their distorting review the recent actions of those, both in this country and on the Continent, who have gained international prominence upon the claim of being advocates of and adherents to Socialist principles.

We should not take the responsibility of basing even the lightest of charges against any section or member of the working class upon the reports of such venomous rags as comprise the international capitalist Press, and we do not do so. But, unfortunately, when these organs point out that in the various nationalities those whom it pleases THEM to recognise and acclaim as Socialists—as THE Socialists, in fact—have everywhere fallen before the appeal to nationalism, and are to be found on every side, bearing arms against their comrades in as tempestuous a blood-lust as the most conservative patriot, we know that, save for the exceptions which they take care to hide, it is true. We know that it is true, not because these hirelings have said it, but because it could, as we have always claimed, be the only possible result when the test came. Our knowledge of the foundations upon which the "great Socialist (!) parties" were built allowed of no other deduction than this, hence we now take what action we may to clear the Socialist Movement of the dire consequences and the stigma which have been brought upon it by the folly or deliberate treachery of those who have dabbled in compromise and confusion.

We have always held that the only possible basis for a Socialist organisation, no matter where it exists, must include

THE PRINCIPLE OF THE CLASS STRUGGLE.

There is no capitalist country under the sun to whose social conditions this principle does not apply. We do not pretend that, had the great political parties of Germany, Austria, and France claiming a Socialist constitution, been firmly based upon this principle, it would have made even the slightest difference in regard to the war. For while we assert that only the knowledge and understanding of the principle of the CLASS STRUGGLE, with its implication of the unity of interest of the proletarians of all lands, could have saved the workers from that flood of national feeling which has swept them off their feet, we know how few adherents they could have found to the principle. They had not done the work necessary to give themselves any great class-conscious strength.

But if a class-conscious foundation to the so-called Socialist parties of Europe could not have affected the main course of events, it would have had at least this important result for the working class: it would have kept the name of Socialism clear of the stigma the enemies of working-class emancipation are now able to throw upon it. What have the millions of votes commanded by the so-called Socialist parties of the Continent accomplished for Socialism in this crisis? Nothing but harm. The workers of the world, who are to receive such terrible punishment for their ignorance, and to learn in such bitter suffering, will, when they awake from their nightmare of "patriotic" frenzy, judge Socialism by those millions of pseudo-Socialist voters who could not stand the test of

A CAPITALIST CALL TO ARMS.

For this reason the immensity of these organisations is itself the measure of the harm they have inflicted upon the Socialist Movement.

We have before us at the moment a circular issued by the Socialist Labour Party of America in which they state: "The events in Europe are likewise a demonstration of the principle that a pure and simple political party of Socialism, however revolutionary it may be in its utterances, cannot be of real service to the proletariat." This is another example of the opportunity the compromising policy of the pseudo-Socialists has provided for other enemies of class-conscious organisation. The statement is false. It is not for the reason that it is a "pure and simple political party of Socialism" that the "International Movement" has failed the workers in this crisis, but because its politics were impure. Its foundation had the cardinal fault which, among others, attaches to the pet obsession of the S.L.P.: it was not grounded upon the principle of the Class Struggle.

We, the SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN, declare again that there was nothing in the conditions of any country which justified Socialists voluntarily supporting either side in the war, and record our condemnation of such action as a betrayal of Socialist principles arising from lack of political knowledge and unsound political organisation.

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

THE BASIS OF SOCIALISM.

The Socialist Party cannot be accused, with fairness, of hiding from the world its Object, principles, and policy. The goal for which we strive, the reasons that direct us thither, and the methods by which we confidently expect to arrive at our goal are no secret. They are embodied in a summary form in the Party's Declaration of Principles appearing on the last page of every copy of this, its official organ.

The Party's Object is defined as the establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments of production and distribution. This brief statement presents in a nutshell the whole broad, general outlook of the Party, and the key to all aspects of its philosophy.

In the first place the definition implies that the basis of society lies in economic conditions. It does not say, as some would have us believe, that society is purely economic, nor that Socialism is merely an arrangement for distributing wealth. This point is important in more ways than one; for while on the one hand it is a common accusation against Socialism that it will reduce us to mere animals, content to satisfy physical wants only, on the other hand we have the pseudo-Socialists who, in order to avoid awkward questions in the hunt for the votes of all and sundry, seek to confine their "Socialism" to a mere economic formula or an ethical generalisation, according to the particular circle of people to whom they appeal.

The Socialist Party, while failing to see how we can be degraded to a much more animalish condition than capitalism imposes upon us, claims that the exercise of our faculties in other directions than those concerned with food and the like, depends upon the satisfaction of our economic wants in the first place. "Man cannot live by bread alone." True! but without bread man cannot live at all. Until we discover the means for dispensing with the raw material from which we generate our energies, the expression of those energies will, to a large extent, be determined, in quantity and in quality, by the amount of raw material obtained and the conditions under which it is obtained.

What applies to the individual applies to a society of individuals. Just as buildings must rest upon bases, so the social organisation of mankind springs from the essential economic conditions of its existence. It is the product of the response of the consciousness of society to the influence of its inheritance and environment. Politics, art, philosophy, the relations of the sexes, all expressions of human thought and co-activity, bear the stamp of their economic mould and inheritance.

If we examine the relations of mankind in the matter of obtaining a living we find them centring around the means by which that living is obtained. From the earliest times to which we can trace human life it would appear that the human race has been distinguished from the rest of the animal kingdom by the acquisition and use of tools and weapons.

Puny in physical powers in comparison with many of the living beings around him, and in significant in the physical sense before the blind forces of nature, man's co-operative thought has resulted in the production of means whereby co-operative action secures the triumph of mankind over these beings and forces. Mark that it is the capacity for "holding together," for mutual protection, that has provided the leisure wherein individuals could discover and develop the instruments of social progress in the first place, and preserve and hand on these instruments to countless generations in the second place.

There are two main aspects of men's relations to their means of living which it is as well to distinguish. We might define them respectively as the industrial and the legal sides of the economic basis of society. The industrial side consists of the relations of men as users of the means of production, that is, as producers of wealth. The legal aspect is comprised in the forms of property or ownership of the means of production and, as a result, of the wealth produced.

The industrial relations develop along paths

largely irrespective of the conscious will of mankind according to the nature of the implements used in production. It is characteristic of modern machinery that it links up numbers of hitherto separate simple processes into a huge, complex, single series of processes. The specialised man, therefore, tends to become supplanted by the special part of a machine, and the workers are linked up in huge concerns which often deal with the article produced from the stage of raw material to finished commodity.

The ownership of the ever developing means of production, however, is determined in strictly conscious and deliberate fashion by the most powerfully organised section of the community in accordance with their material interests. The whole machinery of modern government simply exists to preserve and regulate the existing forms of wealth production.

We further find that the industrial and legal aspects of society's present basis do not harmonise. The users of the means of production are not the owners, and the wealth produced by huge armies of workers goes into the possession of a comparatively small number of individuals. Society is divided into conflicting classes. This brings us to another implication of our Object, namely, that it is possible to change the form of wealth ownership.

If we take a glance at history we see that the weapons of man's war with nature, and the relations centring round them, have been subject to considerable change. Tools have been improved in the direction of time and energy spent in their use. Consequently there has taken place a progressive increase in the product of social labour-power, independently of the normal increase in population. This development may be divided into two main epochs. The first comprises the prolonged change from the simple weapons of hunting and pastoral man, capable of serving a variety of purposes (the knife and the axe, for instance), to the specialised tools of the handicraftsman and agriculturist (as the loom and the spinning wheel, the saw and the plane, the plough and the harrow).

The common feature of the tools alike at the beginning and the end of this period is that their motive power is derived direct from man. The second period, hardly 200 years old, embraces the application of scientific discoveries to industry and the control of natural forces on a large scale, for the purpose of driving the complex machinery which turns out the commodities of to-day.

The industrial relations of mankind reflect this development. Simple co-operation prevailed in the chase and the tending of flocks and herds. With the development of agriculture and handicraft it gave way to an individualisation of productive effort. This specialisation, however, in turn gave rise to interdependence which, breaking down local and national barriers, has led to the socialisation of industry in a more complex and universal form. It is difficult for a modern workman to consider himself detached from his fellows as a worker.

What of property? Here, too, we find the same evolution. The tribal and family collectivism of the hunting and pastoral epoch, in which all of the same kind enjoyed economic and social equality, broke down in favour of the private ownership of land and tools which was essential to the progress of new methods of gaining a living.

The second change, however—to Socialism—demanded by the nature of modern production, has yet to be accomplished. That it will be accomplished is as inevitable as that an embryo chicken, having become complete in the relative development of its parts, should smash its shell.

The development of private property has had three distinct stages, and it is of importance to notice how each form gave way to its successor. The adoption of agriculture as a mode of production led to the break-up of the old tribal unity and the introduction of the patriarchal family, with its slaves—who were generally captives of war. The city-states (Babylon, Athens, Rome) represent the highest types of this form of society.

So extensive became the slave population that its supervision led to the development of a special military caste, which, as the progress of agriculture rendered a more intensive cultivation necessary, overthrew the local power of the

patricians, and federating with the king at their head, became a feudal aristocracy.

Under their domination the slave was transformed into a serf. Whereas the former had his product directly confiscated by his owner, who was responsible for his maintenance, the latter was established in permanent conjunction with the land of his lord, to whom he was bound to render certain fixed services in return for the privilege of cultivating for himself certain portions of the manor or village property.

The development of handicrafts and commerce gave rise to another class—the merchants. Villages grew into towns, and again the struggle for mastery began. It ended in the downfall of the feudal class and their peculiar form of annexing plunder, and a new form took its place.

Divorced from the soil, the peasant became a wage-slave, forming a labour supply for the merchants turned manufacturers, enabling them to compete the independent handicraftsmen out of existence.

The power of the plutocracy has steadily increased from that day to this, but now it, too, is threatened. The modern ruling class stand face to face, not with a new prospective ruling class, but with a slave class amongst whom revolt against all class rule is rapidly spreading. Modern industry has massed the workers together, and they grow daily more conscious of their potential might. History shows that as the industrial conditions of society change, so the legal property relations are changed sooner or later by the conscious effort of the class on whom the further progress of industry depends. Thus is vindicated a third implication of the Socialist objective.

It remains to show what conditions remain to be fulfilled before the modern revolution is an accomplished fact. In the first place the workers must become fully conscious that the proposed change is necessary in their own interest. The facts of their every day life, whether they are perceived directly and independently or as a result of the agitation of their fellows in the Socialist Party, are sufficient to teach them this. Secondly, this consciousness must be followed by universal organisation, for only by this means can the established order be made to give way to a universal system of co-operation. Finally, this organisation must at present take a political form. We have seen that all the social changes of history, from tribal communism to patriarchalism, from that to feudalism, and from that again to capitalism, have taken place as the result of a struggle between classes developed by industrial progress. Force alone decided the issue. Only when the revolutionary class can impose its will in opposition to its enemy can the new property conditions come into being. The classes of old fought their battles out in actual physical conflict. The modern ruling class is not a military entity, however—the defenders of its wealth are drawn from the ranks of the oppressed class itself. So physically insignificant are our masters that even their system of government dare not take its way without the support of the majority of the rest of society, while the direction of the political machinery is more and more entrusted to traitors from the ranks of the slaves. It needs only conscious organisation to wrest from the trembling grasp of the tyrants the only weapon with which at present they beat any rebel section of us down. Before any attack on their property they are impotent without the aid with which society supplies them. Conceive the great majority of society self-conscious, possessing control of their own political machine, and what stands in the way of the common ownership and use of the means of life in equality by all who accept the task of producing what they need? Aye! what? That is the challenge to the intelligence of the working class which is embodied in the existence of the Socialist Party. E. BODEN.

CHISWICK.

Sympathisers in or around Chiswick who require information as to joining, etc., should apply to

GEN. SECRETARY, S.P.G.B.

193 GRAY'S INN RD., W.C.

THE SO-CALLED PRIMITIVE ACCUMULATION.

BEING PART VIII OF "CAPITAL," (Vol. I), BY KARL MARX.]

EXPROPRIATION OF THE AGRICULTURAL POPULATION FROM THE LAND.

(Continued.)

The prelude of the revolution that laid the foundation of the capitalist mode of production, was played in the last third of the 15th, and the first decade of the 16th century. A mass of free proletarians was hurled on the labour-market by the breaking-up of the bands of feudal retainers, who, as Sir James Steuart well says, "everywhere uselessly filled house and castle." Although the royal power, itself a product of bourgeois development, in its strife after absolute sovereignty forcibly hastened on the dissolution of these bands of retainers, it was by no means the sole cause of it. In insolent conflict with king and parliament, the great feudal lords created an incomparably larger proletariat by the forcible driving of the peasantry from the land, to which the latter had the same feudal right as the lord himself, and by the usurpation of the common lands. The rapid rise of the Flemish wool manufactures, and the corresponding rise in the price of wool in England, gave the direct impulse to these evictions. The old nobility had been devoured by the great feudal wars. The new nobility was the child of its time, for which money was the power of all powers. The transformation of arable land into sheep-walks was, therefore, its cry. Harrison, in his "Description of England, prefixed to Holinshed's Chronicle," describes how the expropriation of small peasants is ruining the country. "What care our great encroachers?" The dwellings of the peasants and the cottages of the labourers were razed to the ground or doomed to decay. "If," says Harrison, "the old records of euerie manour be sought . . . it will soon appear that in some manour seventene, eightene, or twentie houses are shrunk . . . that England was neuer less furnished with people than at present . . . Of cities and townes either utterly decayed or more than a quarter or half diminished, though some one be a little increased here or there; of townes pulled downe for sheepe-walks, and no more but the lordships now standing in them . . . I could saie somewhat." The complaints of these old chroniclers are always exaggerated, but they reflect faithfully the impression made on contemporaries by the revolution in the conditions of production. A comparison of the writings of Chancellor Fortescue and Thomas More reveals the gulf between the 15th and 16th century. As Thornton rightly has it, the English working-class was precipitated without any transition from its golden into its iron age.

Legislation was terrified at this revolution. It did not yet stand on that height of civilisation where the "wealth of the nation" (i.e., the formation of capital, and the reckless exploitation and impoverishing of the mass of the people) figure as the ultima Thule of all statecraft. In his history of Henry VII., Bacon says: "Inclosures at that time (1489) began to be more frequent, whereby arable land (which could not be manured without people and families) was turned into pasture, which was easily rid by a few herdsmen; and tenancies for years, lives, and at will (whereupon much of the yeomanry lived) were turned into demesnes. This bred a decay of people, and (by consequence) a decay of towns, churches, tithes, and the like. . . . In remedying of this inconvenience the king's wisdom was admirable, and the parliament's at that time . . . they took a course to take away depopulating inclosures, and depopulating pasturage." An Act of Henry VII., 1489, cap. 19, forbade the destruction of all "houses of husbandry" to which at least 20 acres of land belonged. By an Act, 25 Henry VIII., the same law was renewed. It recites, among other things, that many farms and large flocks of cattle, especially sheep, are concentrated in the hands of a few men, whereby the rent of land has much risen and tillage has fallen off, churches and houses have been pulled down, and marvellous num-

bers of people have been deprived of the means wherewith to maintain themselves and their families. The Act, therefore, ordains the rebuilding of the decayed farmsteads, and fixes a proportion between corn land and pasture land, &c. An Act of 1533 recites that some owners possess 24,000 sheep, and limits the number to be owned to 2000. The cry of the people and the legislation directed, for 150 years after Henry VII., against the expropriation of the small farmers and peasants, were alike fruitless. The secret of their inefficiency Bacon, without knowing it, reveals to us. "The device of King Henry VII.," says Bacon, in his "Essays, Civil and Moral," Essay 29, "was profound and admirable, in making farms and houses of husbandry of a standard; that is, maintained with such a proportion of land unto them as may breed a subject to live in convenient plenty, and no servile condition, and to keep the plough in the hands of the owners and not mere hirelings." What the capitalist system demanded was on the other hand, a degraded and almost servile condition of the mass of the people, the transformation of them into mercenaries, and of their means of labour into capital. During this transformation period, legislation also strove to retain the 4 acres of land by the cottage of the agricultural wage-labourer, and forbade him to take lodgers into his cottage. In the reign of James I., 1627, Roger Crocker of Front Mill, was condemned for having built a cottage on the manor of Front Mill without 4 acres of land attached to the same in perpetuity. As late as Charles I.'s reign, 1638, a royal commission was appointed to enforce the carrying out of the old laws, especially that referring to the 4 acres of land. Even in Cromwell's time, the building of a house within 4 miles of London was forbidden unless it was endowed with 4 acres of land. As late as the first half of the 18th century complaint is made if the cottage of the agricultural labourer has not an adjunct of one or two acres of land. Nowadays he is lucky if it is furnished with a little garden, or if he may rent, far away from his cottage, a few rods. "Landlords and farmers," says Dr. Hunter, "work here hand in hand. A few acres to the cottage would make the labourers too independent." The process of forcible expropriation of the people received in the 16th century a new and frightful impulse from the Reformation, and from the consequent colossal spoliation of the church property. The Catholic church was, at the time of the Reformation, feudal proprietor of a great part of the English land. The suppression of the monasteries, &c., hurled their inmates into the proletariat. The estates of the church were to a large extent given away to rapacious royal favourites, or sold at a nominal price to speculating farmers and citizens, who drove out, en masse, the hereditary sub-tenants and threw their holdings into one. The legally guaranteed property of the poorer folk in a part of the church's tithes was tacitly confiscated. "Pauper ubiquus jacet," cried Queen Elizabeth, after a journey through England. In the 43rd year of her reign the nation was obliged to recognise pauperism officially by the introduction of a poor rate. "The authors of this law seem to have been ashamed to state the grounds for it, for [contrary to traditional usage] it has no preamble whatever." By the 16th of Charles I., ch. 4, it was declared perpetual, and in fact only in 1834 did it take a new and harsher form. These immediate results of the Reformation were not its lasting ones. The property of the church formed the religious bulwark of the traditional conditions of landed property. With its fall these were no longer tenable.

Even in the last decade of the 17th century, the yeomanry, the class of independent peasants, were more numerous than the class of farmers. They had formed the backbone of Cromwell's strength, and, even according to the confession of Macaulay, stood in favourable contrast to the drunken squires and to their servants, the country clergy, who had to marry their masters' cast-off mistresses. About 1750, the yeomanry had disappeared, and so had, in the last decade of the 18th century, the last trace of the common land of the agricultural labourer. We leave on one side here the purely economic causes of the agricultural revolution. We deal only with the forcible means employed.

(To be Continued.)

THE FORUM.

[TO THE EDITOR.]

Sir,—In perusing the December No. of the "S.S." I noticed with some surprise a statement appearing over the initials of "F.F." in his review of the life of Parnell. I take exception to the following statement:

"The Industrial Unionist copies the lawlessness of the Fenian with sabbotage, but has never yet—even in United States—scored any success worth mentioning."

Now my information regarding the rights of Free Speech, etc. has been that the I.W.W. has done vigorous, useful, and necessary work in that direction. If my information has been wrong I shall be grateful to be corrected.

The Battersea local of the I.W.W. are having an address from two fellow workers who have just arrived in this country, on Dec. 14th, the theme to be: "The Work of the I.W.W. in America." My object in writing is that you (if possible) depute someone to attend that meeting and support the contentions in "F.F.'s" article.

CHAS. SAVAGE.

In the article our friend quotes from the reference is not, as he would seem to imply, to the I.W.W. of America only, but to Industrial Unionists all over the world. Sabbotage is one of their chief planks much advocated, but, of course, practised little. The meaning of the passage quoted, especially when taken with the rest of the paragraph, should be clear. The Industrial Unionists, even in the United States, where they are strongest, have gained by Sabbotage nothing worth mentioning. It must also be clear that the writer of the above, although he takes exception to the passage, yet raises nothing that even questions its accuracy. For if the I.W.W. have, as he claims, "done vigorous, useful, and necessary work" for the right of free speech, he neglects to tell us if they won any of these "rights," and how sabbotage was instrumental in that direction. The I.W.W. no more fights for free speech with sabbotage than the Fenians did with outrages.

Mr. Savage is evidently mixed as to his terms. Sabbotage, in theory, looms so big in his mind that it stands for Industrial Unionism, of which—according to its apostles—it is merely a part. But even had I said that Industrial Unionism has gained nothing worth mentioning for the workers, my critic still gives no reason for taking exception even to that. Every party fights for free speech, i.e., they contend with the obstacles that hinder the dissemination of their ideas. The Suffragettes contended against hooligans; so did the Welsh Christ; so also did the Liberal Party during the South African War. But what have the workers gained by their efforts? Have they gained any rights, knowledge, or material improvement?

It is not so much free speech that the workers require as speech embodying that which is, from their view point, essential, logical, and correct. The Industrial Unionist might advocate Sabbotage and the General Strike until the workers believed in them as pathetically as they to-day believe in the "directive ability" of the capitalist or the "brotherhood of Capital and Labour"—and what then? They would only have learned how to destroy wealth, or to hinder its production. The problem waiting their solution would still be the same that confronts them to-day—how to produce for their own use instead of for the profit of the capitalist.

For this problem the Industrial Unionists have no practicable solution; and until they have we can only class them with all the other freak organisations that "claim the right to babble."

One of the "friends" mentioned in Mr. Savage's letter, at a previous meeting of the I.W.W. asked the speaker (who had favoured political action by the workers): "Of what possible value is the vote to the worker, seeing that when he has given it it is no longer under his control, is, in fact, lost?" If this is a sample of their "free speech" we do not regret our inability to respond to their invitation, which, by the way, arrived a day after the meeting announced.

F. F.

Since then prices have mounted higher and

We need not trouble the reader with a description of what unemployment means, for to very many the bitterness of experience has con-

4. Owing to the supply of labour being vastly in excess of the demand, there is intense struggle among the workers for employment; this competition results in steadily pressing down wages till they reach on the average the bare subsistence level. This is to the benefit of the masters. At the same time, mainly through the operation of trusts, the cost of living steadily

In the course of a few days they passed the following measures and Acts: Two votes of credit, one for £100 000 000, and the other for £225, 000 000; two measures to increase the army by 1½ million men and the navy by 67,000 men and boys; an Act known as the "Moratorium" postponing payment of debt to protect the interests of banks, financiers, the Stock Exchange and the capitalist class generally, many of whom were insolvent and would otherwise have gone smash; they have guaranteed dividends to railway shareholders; nationalised the railways, the airline dye industry and shipping insurance; fixed food prices at levels which press heavily on the workers but yield handsome profits to rings and trusts, and have

F. V.

Post Free 1½d.

So short a time ago British diplomats, in a wrangle for the apportionment of a piece of Europe, might have declared a war between England or Russia and France. In the latter case France would have been declared our enemy. Then the British workman would have been flung against the "frog eating Frenchmen," and the Parisian Press would have shrieked abuse at "Perfidious Albion," as it did during the Boer War. What greater cause have we for enmity against the German than against the French worker? None, of course, can be found when, in the midst of this butchery men pause for a brief spell face to face with the "enemy" and, having no cause for hatred, spontaneously hold out the hand of friendship and exchange the fragrant "Woodbine."

The interests of German, French, and Russian workers are identical with those of the British

worker. Their burden is oppression, tyranny, and brutality, as practised by the masters all over the globe—like on the squares of London and of Petrograd, of Paris and of Berlin.

Russian autocracy still sends its best men to Siberia, though we call them friends and allies, and German workmen will still, we hope, send help and collect funds to assist their brothers in British trade unions when the latter are fighting against the brutality of the English master class, as they have done in the past.

Put aside for the moment the call of the patriotic ironmaster trust magnates, of the shoddy khaki cloth manufacturers, of the sponge and paper boot dealers, and of the rotten meat purveyors: such "patriotism" exposes itself. Ignore their specious pleading for a moment, and in that moment of sanity ask yourselves, Briton or Boer, Pole or Prussian, Frenchman or Turk, why should not that Christmas handclasp over the trenches, that expression of friendship that would out, continue.

Would it not be a more sane proposal to continue that handclasp as expressing the close and firm comradeship of the toilers of the world rather than that this horrible butchery should be maintained? Perhaps it seems impossible, but one day the workers will awake to the consciousness of its desirability, and the Socialist works for that day.

Now, however, your masters call the tune you dance to. They have chosen your enemy for you. They have propounded the reasons for the fight. They have arranged the battlefield, and they, doubtless, will stay the slaughter when it pleases them. Their interest is obvious. Their cause is clear. Their action is logical, however callous that logic may be.

But, fellow workers, is our cause so clearly shown in the present conflict? Is our interest in any way bound up in the defeat or victory of the opposing armies?

If our bitter enemy sat in the opposing trenches—an enemy so bitter that we must shoot him on sight, then to shake hands is treachery; but is it logical to suggest that to shake the hand of those who have assisted us in the past and who bear us no more hate than the blind, unreasoned lip-curse, is an action of treachery?

No, our enemy is not in the trenches. Our foe is those who sit in the halls of the great and on the boards of directors of catering and clothing concerns; the capitalists whose wealth is drawn from the blood and sinew of the sweated waitress and sempstress; the politicians and "intellectuals" who, with smooth tongue and richly bribed pen, fool the masses to their undoing; the Labour shepherds who "lead" the revolt to waste for the reward of a seat in the secret council of the Molock Capital.

Shall our sword be drawn to fight foreign workers misled by a gang equally as unscrupulous as they who endeavour to mislead us here? Shall our hatred be wasted upon those of our class who are fooled into participation in a bloody struggle for the spoils of exploitation—a struggle that will cease as it began, with the exploited worker still the bottom dog; with the wage-slave still "on the knee"?

Why not save our energy for a better cause? TWEL.

TO THE PRINCES OF THE CHURCH.

You prate of love and murmur of goodwill, Turn sanctimonious eyes toward your God, Write on your walls the text "Thou shalt not kill,"

Point out the path your "Prince of Peace" once trod,

While all the time, with murder in your hearts, You lie, cajole, and bully that the fools Who heed your words may play their foolish parts

As slaves of Mammon, as the War-Lord's tools. On many a field, in many a river bed, Of Flanders and of Poland and of France, Your bloody-minded words bear fruit indeed. Preachers of Death! the thought of maimed and dead

Will nerve us when our hosts of Life advance To crush for ever your accursed breed.

F. J. WEBB.

OTHER "HUNS" AND OTHER LOUVAINS.

2.—SOUTH AFRICA, CHINA, ETC.

The previous article under this heading dealt with a state of affairs which existed on the Congo under the Belgians in times of peace—or shall we say in pursuance of ordinary business; the present article deals with the actions of nations at war. Its object is to show that "Huns" and "Louvaings" are a common feature in every war, and are not monopolised by this or that nation. It also shows again the hypocrisy of the capitalist Press campaign against German methods of warfare. Whatever can be said of German methods can with equal truth be said of British, French, Russian, Japanese, Italian, or any other nation's methods. War is war, and all the Hague Conferences will leave it at what it is—a horrible and bloody display of all that is vicious and barbaric in mankind. No act of barbarism has been committed in the present war that has not been equalled in almost any other war.

A lot of noise has been made of Germany violating Belgian neutrality, tearing up scraps of paper, etc. This is nothing new. Every one of the above-mentioned nations has ignored such agreements, and is prepared to do so again when its interests are served in that way. Begbie, of "Fall in" fame, told the truth when he said that "At every Christian frontier you can pick up a broken treaty and a dishonoured bond." ("Daily Chronicle," Aug. 5th, 1914.)

The invasion of Belgium is trotted out as being the chief reason for England's declaration of war upon Germany. To show the hypocrisy of this claim one has only to call to mind the war in South Africa against the Dutch Republics. We there see what concern the rulers of this country have for the independence of small States when there is something to be gained by annexation. Even Mr. Lloyd George was compelled to admit that "We went into war for equal rights, and we were prosecuting it for annexation. We went into the country for philanthropy, and we remained in it for burglary." ("Manchester Guardian," July 20th, 1900), while a member of the Cape Assembly, an Englishman, Mr. Merriman, is reported as follows: "I say 'never again' will England hold the title she did as the friend of small peoples and the unwavering champion of liberty. . . . When it is a question of tyranny towards some small Powers, how can she say anything? The Transvaal and the Free State will be slung in her teeth." ("The Speaker," Oct. 27th, 1900).

Nobody but a fool would to-day deny that the South African War was a capitalist's war; and when all the fogging issues that have cropped up in the shape of immediate causes, and which the Press in each country have used in a campaign to trip the workers, have been cleared away, the capitalist nature of the present European War will be as clear as daylight.

The South African War, it is true, was more clear owing to the fact that a considerable section of the capitalists in this country, although they had to help finance the war, did not stand to benefit by it. Naturally they quarrelled with those who stood to benefit through it; and when thieves quarrel they sometimes tell the truth about one another.

One or two extracts from speeches of that time will show that the idea of the clique of capitalists who engineered the war was that under "good government" (meaning the British type: the type most favourable to their interests) they would be allowed to work the gold mines with cheaper labour and increase their already enormous profits.

Mr. Cecil Rhodes, for instance, said:

"We are not going to war for the amusement of Royal families as in the past, but we mean practical business." ("Daily Mail," Aug. 14th, 1899.)

At a meeting of the Consolidated Gold Fields Company of South Africa held at Cannon St. Hotel, London, Nov. 14th, 1899, Mr. J. H. Hammond, the Company's engineer, stated that under English rule he hoped to cut down the wages of the Kaffir by one half. At the same meeting he justified his calculation by saying:

"With good government there should be an abundance of labour and with an abundance of labour there will be no difficulty in cutting down wages, because it is preposterous to pay a Kaffir the present wages. He would be quite as well satisfied—in fact he would work longer—if you gave him half the amount. (Laughter.) His wages are altogether disproportionate to his requirements. (Renewed laughter.)" ("Financial News," Nov. 21st, 1899.)

What these gold-mongers wanted, then, was to lay hold of the reins of government in the Republics, remove the burden of taxation from the mines, introduce cheaper labour, force down the wages of the labourers already there, and so increase their profits.

As to the conduct of British soldiers in war read the following extract from De Wette's "Three Years' War" (pp. 242-3):

"Proclamations had been issued by Lord Roberts prescribing that any building within ten miles of the railway where the Boers had blown up or broken up the railway line should be burnt down. This was also carried out, but not only within the specified radius, but also everywhere throughout the State. Everywhere houses were burnt down or destroyed with dynamite . . . the furniture itself and the grain were burnt, and the sheep, cattle and horses were carried off. Nor was it long before horses were shot down in heaps, and the sheep killed by thousands by the Kaffirs and the National Scouts or run through by the troops with their bayonets. . . . The devastation became worse from day to day. . . . Could anyone ever have thought before the war that the twentieth century could show such barbarities? No. Anyone knows that in war, cruelties more horrible than murder can take place, but that such direct and indirect murder should have been committed against defenceless women and children is a thing I should have staked my head could never have happened in a war waged by the civilised English nation. Yet it happened."

On page 287 the same author says: "The enemy, moreover, did not spare our cattle, but either drove them off or killed them for food. As for our women-folk—any of them who fell into the hands of the enemy were sent off to the concentration camps." The treatment of women "is such a serious matter that it would require whole chapters to deal with it adequately."

Regarding these concentration camps, General L. Botha declared on May 30th, 1902, that no less than twenty thousand women and children had died in them up to that time. (Ibid, p. 492.)

Gen. Botha, in reply to the proclamation of Lord Roberts referred to above by De Wette, said:

"It is already known to me that barbarous actions of this kind are committed by your troops under your command, not only alongside or near the railway, but also in places far removed from railways. Wherever your troops move, not only are houses burned down or blown up with dynamite, but defenceless women and children are ejected, robbed of all food and cover, and all this without any just cause existing for such proceedings."

The Lord Roberts proclamation stated that "all provisions, cattle, etc., shall be removed."

But lest any critic should object to these statements as they came from "the enemy," let us see what other evidence can be found. A Canadian officer (E. W. B. Morrison) on the conduct of the war wrote as follows:

"There were a number of very fine farm-houses near by and we saw the Boers leaving them and making off. The Provost Marshal came up from the main body, removed the Boer women and children with their bedding, and proceeded to burn or blow up the houses. From that on during the rest of the trek, which lasted four days, our progress was like the old time forays in the Highlands of Scotland two centuries ago. The country is very like Scotland and we moved on from valley to valley 'lifting' cattle and sheep, burning, looting, and turning out the women and children to sit and cry beside the ruins of their once beautiful farmsteads. It was the touch of Kitchener's iron hand. And we were the knucklers. . . . We burned a track about six miles wide through these fertile valleys and completely destroyed the village of Willpoort and the town of Dullstroom . . .

"The column marched into Willpoort, a pretty little village surrounded by hills. The guns were placed on the hills and trained on the place and the cavalry and mounted infantry rode into it and burned every house and shop except one belonging to a British subject. . . . When the mounted troops rode back they looked like a gang of dissolute pedlars. Their saddles were hung like Christmas trees with shawls, cloaks, mandolines, tea-kettles, lamps—every sort of imaginable article—besides chickens, geese, sucking pigs, vegetables, and agricultural products galore." ("Manchester Guardian," Feb. 23rd, 1901.)

Sir H. Campbell Bannerman described the methods of the British in South Africa as "methods of barbarism." ("Times," June 16th, 1900.)

The writer could quote evidence of burning and looting and the rest of the horrors of the South African War from almost all the prominent papers that are to-day shrieking about German vandalism, as if such things had never been heard of in modern English history.

Let us move now to that magnetic spot which has for years been attracting the great commercial robbers of the whole world, viz., China. The endeavours of the European Powers, along with America, to open up China as a market for their manufactures together with a continual nibbling at her territory, and the meddling of missionaries, led in 1900 to what is known as the "Boxer" rising in Shan-Tung. Like a flash Britain, America, France, Germany, and Russia were at her throat, and a terrible massacre ensued. The following is taken from leading articles of the "Manchester Guardian," Dec. 27th, 1900 and Jan. 4th, 1901:

"European civilisation was in a certain sense on trial in China when the military operations of the powers began. Yet it is well known that there was hardly a crime against civilisation that this international army of civilisation did not commit. The rules of warfare laid down at the Hague Conference, to which China was a party, were all disregarded. Non-combatants were slaughtered wholesale; towns were systematically pillaged; women were treated worse than the men."

The "Daily Telegraph," Sept. 14th, 1900, says:

"The French and Russians have committed frightful atrocities at Tung Chow, outraging and slaughtering women and killing children."

Of the Russians, Germans, and French the leading article of the "Morning Leader" (Dec. 31st, 1900) says, they

" . . . seem to have revelled in rapine and murder. A band of brigands who kill, burn, ravish and loot," is Sir Robert Hart's description. "Bloodshed, rapine, and rape" is the terse summary of Dr. Dillon. It is he who has described the cold-blooded massacre of three hundred "perfectly innocent" coolies by the Russians at Taku. . . . a Japanese journalist draws some terrible pictures of the French and Russians at Tung Chau. Nor does his evidence stand alone. Dr. Dillon has already told us in the "Fortnightly Review" that 'In Tung Chau and Pekin girls and women of all ages were raped first and bayoneted afterwards.'"

Just one more quotation relating to the Tulu rising in Natal in 1906 which was suppressed by the British.

"About nine o'clock a.m., Mudhlogo-zulu, the paramount chief, approached carrying a white flag. Some two or three hundred accompanied him. He arrived a few yards in front of a sergeant and explained that he wanted to give in. The reply of course was a bullet that must have sent his brains some fifty yards off. His followers . . . stood back and shrieked for mercy. Mercy came quicker than they expected—in the shape of a Maxim. What a sight! The bundle dropped lifeless in less than a minute. Several women were among the slain as well as a lot of young boys. . . . A faithful Kaffir was looking about the fallen when he found Bombata (a chief) and at once took steps to have his head brought into camp for identification. Well, the first thing the doctor ordered was to have the matter kept secret, and also to have it stuffed at once. . . . We carried

the head with us for about a week, when it was dissected and the skull will probably be made into a nice tobacco jar for someone. . . . I think it is the finest picnic I have ever been at."—"Daily News," Aug. 16th, 1906.

In conclusion, after reading the above evidence the reader should ask himself the question "Why is it, then, that the capitalistic Press of this country is straining all its resources to gather information regarding German atrocities?" The reply is not hard to find. These reports, whether true or false—they care not—are pushed before our noses in order to engender racial hatred. At any other time the Germans or anyone else can and do commit all manner of atrocities and they are only mentioned incidentally or not at all. J. W. P.

ALLIES IN SLAVERY

(Conclusion.)

The Portuguese claim, of course, that they have abolished the slave trade and slave owning in their Colonies since 1871. "The Planters," says Mr. Harris, "demand this attitude, and the governing authorities (partly because they are in the power of the planting community, and partly because of an admission of the actual conditions would gravely embarrass Portugal and her ally Great Britain) keep up the fiction that their West African labour systems are purely those of free contract labour." (Italics mine.)

The fraudulent nature of this claim is well exposed in the pages of Mr. Harris's book, and will be easily realised when we look at the circumstances in which the "contract" is concluded.

Upon arrival at the coast the labourers, utterly exhausted through long marches, are brought to the "Curador's" office to give their "consent." It is admittedly nothing but a matter of form, the black not having the faintest notion of what is going on in the office. But even if he did understand something about the proceeding, could anyone explain to him how a five years' "contract" becomes one for life? The truth of the matter was summed up by Mr. Vice-Consul Smallbones in his recent official report, wherein he pointed that: "From what I have been able to gather, all the 'servicemen' I have now seen were bought in the province of Angola; their original contract was a shame and the renewed contracts were a farce." (Italics mine.)

What is true of the "contracts" is equally true of all the other "regulations" which have been and are being issued from time to time. They merely exist on paper, unless, indeed, they are actually turned against those whom they were supposed to benefit. As instance, the regulations concerning the repatriation of the slaves. Reformers were, no doubt, under the impression that they had rendered a signal service to humanity when in 1878 (seven years after the "abolition of slavery") a new regulation was issued providing for the repatriation of the servicers at the conclusion of their "contracts" until even the Vice-Governor General of Angola had to admit to Mr. Smallbones in November 1911 that "repatriation had become *une mauvaise affaire*," that men "had not been repatriated, but expatriated." In the first place, until 1903 (thirty years after!) not one of the slaves had been liberated, and though, according to Mr. Harris, "by 1913 a couple of thousand slaves had been restored to the mainland, it is clear that for the most part only the infirm and, from the planter's point of view, the useless, were being set free."

Moreover, there is a mass of evidence to show that by far the greater number of "repatriated" have been landed in Angola in an absolutely destitute condition, although another regulation passed in 1903 provided that each "repatriated" labourer should receive £18 upon landing in Angola. The "repatriated," says Mr. Harris, "in vain sought for work . . . and a few days later there lay, in the outskirts of Benguela, out in the open, no less than fifty corpses; those who did not or could not resort to theft in order to live had simply died of starvation."

Thus are these unfortunate people "helped to settle on the spot," as provided in the Brussels treaty, Article LII!

As has already been pointed out, the planters are quite capable of using the "regulations and laws," as means of further enriching themselves at the expense of their wretched slaves. The Repatriation Fund is a case in point. What else, indeed, does the following statement prove if not the fact that the 1903 law has enabled the planters to rob their labourers of the greater part of the miserable pittance they earn? But let the Anti Slavery Society's statement to the British Foreign Office speak:

"We submit a short statement which we do not think will be challenged in any particular. The planters stated in 1907 that 'each repatriated labourer will (under the 1903 law) receive about £18 upon landing in Angola.' That this pledge has never been fulfilled is notorious. The Portuguese Government has now issued a decree by which every labourer landed on the mainland shall receive from the Repatriation Fund a minimum of £10. But owing to the defalcations it is impossible for either sum to be refunded to the labourers. Accepting the minimum basis that 30,000 people are entitled to such refunds, we find that to pay them their minimum of £18 per head promised by the planters would require £540,000, whilst to pay them the recently decreed minimum would require £300,000; but we understand that the fund to-day is less than £200,000. . . . There are on the islands not less than 30,000 labourers whose minimum legal wage is, for men, 10s., and for women 7s. 2d. per month. The deductions from these wages have varied from one-half to two-thirds since the law of 1903 became operative." (Italics mine.)

When one bears in mind how completely the slaves are at the mercy of Britain's protégés in these Colonies, that the renewal of the shame-contract is at the option of the employer, and when one further remembers the appalling death rate in the islands, the magnitude and villainy of this fraud becomes more apparent.

Much is said about the African's intense longing for liberty and homeland; here is an example. Mr. Smallbones, describing how, during a visit to Agua Izé eighty servicers asked to be allowed to leave the plantation, says:

"They were then all lined up, and the manager and his staff worked hard to get some volunteers to stay on. All their efforts were in vain. Even a woman who had had both her legs amputated below the knee insisted on wobbling on her hideous stumps to her native country, and a man whom also an accident on the plantation had deprived of both legs faced cheerfully the perils of the journey clinging to the back of a sturdy friend."

The foregoing will no doubt give some idea of the extent of the slave traffic in these particular colonies, but it is noteworthy that if there are still about 30,000 slaves held in bondage on the islands there are at least five times as many on the mainland of Angola; furthermore, it is stated upon reliable authority that for every slave landed more than one perishes en route. But I have not space to deal with more. How the chiefs are at present ordered by the Portuguese officials to bring labourers and are threatened with the application of armed force to catch the required workers in their villages; the awful recital of the horrors of the slave routes, where men too old to carry their burdens sink down never to rise again, and where children too young to endure the tropical sun, and whose little legs at last give out, are relieved of their sufferings by a stroke of the slave-driver's axe; the gruesome tales of the weary trails strewn with the bleaching bones of countless thousands of human beings; how fraud and force are used to compel the servicers to "re-contract": for all this the enquirer must be referred to the publications mentioned. K.

STOCKPORT.

Will those sympathising with our principles living in or around Stockport communicate with TOM SALA, 48 MAYFIELD GROVE, REDDISH LANE, HORTON, from whom all particulars as to joining etc. can be obtained.

SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

HEAD OFFICE:

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- BIRMINGHAM.** E. Jesper, Secy., 74, Murdock-rd., Handsworth, Birmingham. Branch meets at Coffee House, Spicel-st., Bull Ring, 11 a.m. 1st & 3rd Sundays.
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- WOOD GREEN.**—C. Revelle, Secy., 53 Maidstone Rd. New Southgate. From Jan. 11 Branch meet alternate Mondays at 8.30, at School Hall, Brook-rd., Wood Green.

THE POTTERIES.

All sympathisers with the Party living in or about Stoke, Fenton, Banley, Crewe, and Newcastle-under-Lyme should communicate with

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N.B.—The issues from Sept. 1904 to August 1907 are out of print.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.**RECEIVED—**

- "Weekly People" (New York).
- "Gaelic American" (New York).
- "British Columbia Federationist" (Vancouver).
- "Civil Service Socialist" (London).
- "Freedom" (London).
- "Cotton's Weekly" (Canada).
- "Appeal to Reason" (Kansas).
- "International News Letter" (Berlin).
- "The Western Clarion" (Vancouver).
- "The Socialist" (Melbourne).
- "Industrial Union News" (Detroit).

A typical instance of what becomes of worker's savings is to hand in the account given by Mr. Spurley Hey, Director of Education for the City of Manchester. The school population was about 120,000, and 56,878 of these were depositors in the school savings banks.

They deposited	£54,532
And withdrew	£51,404

The average deposits were not £1 each, and, like other "workmen's savings," were nearly all withdrawn. As a further sign of working-class prosperity this is quoted from Mr. Hey: "The dinners provided for Manchester children last year numbered 727,463." The growth of the number of municipal feeds is taken by certain people as a benefit instead of as pointing to capitalism's increasing pressure upon the workers.

ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

S. H. HIGGINS (Tottenham).—Thanks.

**THE SOCIALIST PARTY
OF GREAT BRITAIN.****OBJECT.**

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community.

Declaration of Principles

THE SOCIALIST PARTY of Great Britain

HOLDS—

That society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master class, and the consequent enslavement of the working class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.

That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce and those who produce but do not possess.

That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

That as in the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind, without distinction of race or sex.

That this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.

That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working-class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.

That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

The SOCIALIST PARTY of Great Britain, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP.

Those agreeing with the above principles and desiring enrolment in the Party, should apply for membership form to secretary of nearest branch or at Head Office.

MANIFESTO

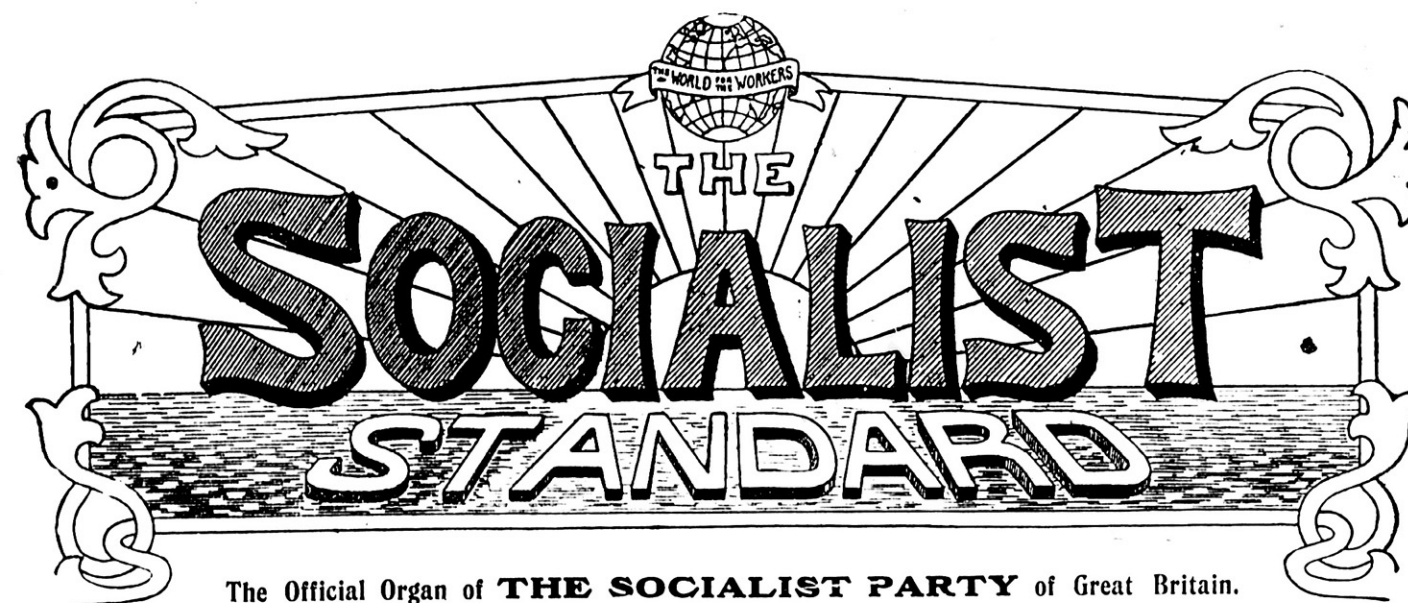
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The Official Organ of **THE SOCIALIST PARTY** of Great Britain.

No. 127. Vol. 11.]

LONDON, MARCH, 1915.

[MONTHLY, ONE PENNY.]

A RUSSIAN CHALLENGE.

We have received the following and publish it in order to show the trickery resorted to by the pseudo-Socialists responsible for the London Conference in endeavouring to exploit the Russian Socialists, whose challenge they dared not face.

A DECLARATION TO THE LONDON CONFERENCE.

CITIZENS.—Your Conference calls itself a conference of the Socialist parties of the allied belligerent countries, Belgium, England, France and Russia.

Allow me first of all to draw your attention to the fact that the Social-Democracy of Russia as an organised body, as represented by its Central Committee and affiliated to the International Socialist Bureau, has received no invitation from you. The Russian Social-Democracy, whose views have been expressed by the members of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Group in the Duma, now arrested by the Tsar's Government (Petrovski, Muranoff, Badloff, Samoiloff representing the workers of Petrograd, Yokaterinoslaff, Kharkoff, Kastroma and Vladimir districts) have nothing in common with your conference. We hope that you will state so publicly, as otherwise you may be accused of distorting the truth.

Now allow me to say a few words with regard to your conference, i.e., to tell you what the class-conscious Social-Democratic workers of Russia would expect from you.

We believe that before entering upon any deliberations with regard to the reconstruction of the International, before attempting to restore international bonds between Socialist workers, it is our Socialist duty to demand:

- (1) That Vandervelde, Guesde and Sembat immediately leave the Belgian and French bourgeois ministries.
- (2) That the Belgian and French Socialist parties break up the so-called "bloc national" which is a disgrace to the Socialist flag and under cover of which the bourgeoisie celebrates its orgies of chauvinism.
- (3) That all Socialist parties cease their policy of ignoring the crimes of Russian Tsarism and renew their support of that struggle against Tsarism which is being carried on by the Russian workers in spite of all the sacrifices they have to make.
- (4) That in fulfilment of the resolutions of the Bale conference we hold out our hands to those revolutionary Social-Democrats of Germany and Austria who are prepared to carry on propaganda for revolutionary action as a reply to war. The voting of war credits must be condemned without any reserves.

The German and Austrian Social-Democrats have committed a monstrous crime against Socialism and the International by voting war credits and entering into a domestic truce with the junkers, the priests and the bourgeoisie, but the action of the Belgian and French Socialists has by no means been better. We fully understand that conditions are possible when Socialists as a minority have to submit to a bourgeois majority, but under no circumstances should Socialists cease to be Socialists or join in the chorus of bourgeois chauvinism, forsake the workers' cause and enter bourgeois ministries.

The German and Austrian Social-Democrats are committing a great crime against Socialism when, after the example of the bourgeoisie they hypocritically assert that the Hohenzollerns and the Hapsburgs are carrying on a war of liberation "against Tsarism."

But those are committing a crime no less stupendous who assert that Tsarism is becoming democratised and civilised, who are passing over in silence the fact that Tsarism is strangling and ruining unhappy Galicia just as the German Kaiser is strangling and ruining Belgium, who keep silent about the facts that the Tsar's gang has thrown into gaol the parliamentary representatives of the Russian working class, and only the other day condemned to six years penal servitude a number of Moscow workers for the only offence of belonging to our Party, that Tsarism is now oppressing Finland worse than ever, that our Labour press and organisations in Russia are suppressed, that all the millions necessary for the war are being wrung by the Tsar's clique out of the poor workers and starving peasants.

On behalf of the Central Committee of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party,

London, February 14th, 1915.

M. MAXIMOVICH.

THE SO-CALLED PRIMITIVE ACCUMULATION.

BEING PART VIII OF "CAPITAL" (Vol. 1), BY KARL MARX.

EXPROPRIATION OF THE AGRICULTURAL POPULATION FROM THE LAND.

(Continued.)

AFTER the restoration of the Stuarts, the landed proprietors carried, by legal means, an act of usurpation, effected everywhere on the Continent without any legal formality. They abolished the feudal tenure of land, i.e., they got rid of all its obligations to the State, "indemnified" the State by taxes on the peasantry and the rest of the mass of the people, vindicated for themselves the rights of modern private property in estates to which they had only a feudal title, and, finally, passed those laws of settlement, which, *mutatis mutandis*, had the same effect on the English agricultural labourer, as the edict of the Tartar Boris Godunov on the Russian peasantry.

The "glorious Revolution" brought into power, along with William of Orange, the landlord and capitalist appropriators of surplus value. They inaugurated the new era by practising on a colossal scale thefts of state lands, thefts that had been hitherto managed more modestly. These estates were given away, sold at a ridiculous figure, or even annexed to private estates by direct seizure. All this happened without the slightest observation of legal etiquette. The crown lands thus fraudulently appropriated, together with the robbery of the Church estates, as far as these had not been lost again during the republican revolution, form the basis of the to-day princely domains of the English oligarchy. The bourgeois capitalists favoured the operation with the view, among others, to promoting free trade in land, to extending the domain of modern agriculture on the large farm-system, and to increasing their supply of the free agricultural proletarians ready to hand. Besides, the new landed aristocracy, of the newly-hatched *haute finance*, and of the large manufacturers, then depending on protective duties. The English bourgeoisie acted for its own interest quite as wisely as did the Swedish bourgeoisie who, reversing the process, hand in hand with their economic allies, the peasantry, helped the kings in the forcible resumption of the Crown lands from the oligarchy. This happened since 1604 under Charles X. and Charles XI.

Communal property—always distinct from the State property just dealt with—was an old Teutonic institution which lived on under cover of feudalism. We have seen how the forcible usurpation of this, generally accompanied by the turning of arable into pasture land, begins at the end of the 15th and extends into the 16th century. But, at that time, the process was carried on by means of individual acts of violence against which legislation, for a hundred and fifty years, fought in vain. The advance made by the 18th century shows itself in this, that the law itself becomes now the instrument of the theft of the people's land, although the large farmers make use of their little independent methods as well. The parliamentary form of the robbery is that of Acts for enclosures of Commons, in other words, decrees by which the landlords grant themselves the people's land as private property, decrees of expropriation of the people. Sir F. M. Eden refutes his own special/crafty pleading, in which he tries to represent communal property as the private property of the great landlords who have taken the place of the feudal lords, when he, himself, demands a "general Act of Parliament for the enclosure of the Commons," (admitting thereby that a parliamentary *coup d'état* is necessary for its transformation into private property), and moreover calls on the legislature for the indemnification for the expropriated poor.

Whilst the place of the independent yeoman was taken by tenants at will, small farmers on yearly leases, a servile rabble dependent on the pleasure of the landlords, the systematic robbery of the Communal lands helped especi-

ally, next to the theft of the State domains, to swell those large farms, that were called in the 18th century capital farms or merchant farms, and to "set free" the agricultural population as proletarians for manufacturing industry.

The 18th century, however, did not yet recognise as fully as the 19th, the identity between national wealth and the poverty of the people. Hence the most vigorous polemic, in the economic literature of that time, on the "enclosure of commons." From the mass of materials that lie before me, I give a few extracts that will throw a strong light on the circumstances of the time. "In several parishes of Hertfordshire," writes one indignant person, "24 farms, numbering on the average 50-150 acres, have been melted up into three farms." "In Northamptonshire and Leicestershire the enclosure of common lands has taken place on a very large scale, and most of the new lordships resulting from the enclosure, have been turned into pasturage, in consequence of which many lordships have not now 50 acres ploughed yearly, in which 1,500 were ploughed formerly. The ruins of former dwelling-houses, barns, stables, etc., are the sole traces of the former inhabitants. "An hundred houses and families have in some open field villages . . . dwindled to eight or ten . . ."

The landholders in most parishes that have been enclosed only 15 or 20 years, are very few in comparison of the numbers who occupied them in their open field state. It is no uncommon thing for 4 or 5 wealthy graziers to engross a large enclosed lordship which was before in the hands of 20 or 30 farmers, and as many smaller tenants and proprietors. All these are hereby thrown out of their livings with their families and many other families who were chiefly employed and supported by them." It was not only the land that lay waste, but often land cultivated either in common or held under a definite rent paid to the community, that was annexed by the neighbouring landlords under pretext of enclosure. "I have here in view enclosures of open fields and lands already improved. It is acknowledged by even the writers in defence of enclosures that these diminished villages increase the monopolies of farms, raise the prices of provisions, and produce depopulation . . . and even the enclosure of waste lands (as now carried on) bears hard on the poor, by depriving them of a part of their subsistence, and only goes towards increasing farms already too large. "When," says Dr. Price, "this land gets into the hands of a few great farmers, the consequence must be that the little farmers" (earlier designated by him "a multitude of little proprietors and tenants, who maintain themselves and families by the produce of the ground they occupy by sheep kept on a common, by poultry, hogs, etc., and who therefore have little occasion to purchase any of the means of subsistence") "will be converted into a body of men who earn their subsistence by working for others, and who will be under a necessity of going to market for all they want . . ."

There will, perhaps, be more labour, because there will be more compulsion to it . . . Towns and manufacturers will increase, because more will be driven to them in quest of places and employment. This is the way in which the engrossing of farms naturally operates. And this is the way in which, for many years, it has been actually operating in this kingdom." He sums up the effect of enclosure thus: "Upon the whole, the circumstances of the lower ranks of men are altered in almost every respect for the worse. From little occupiers of land, they are reduced to the state of day-labourers and hirelings; and, at the same time, their subsistence has become more difficult." In fact, usurpation of the common lands and the revolution in agriculture accompanying this, told so acutely on the agricultural labourers that, even according to Eden, between 1765 and 1780, their wages began to fall below the minimum, and to be supplemented by official poor-law relief. Their wages, he says, "were not more than enough for the absolute necessities of life."

Let us hear for a moment a defender of enclosures and an opponent of Dr. Price. "Nor is it a consequence that there must be depopulation, because men are not seen wasting their labour in the open field . . . If by converting the little farmers into a body of men

who must work for others, more labour is produced, it is an advantage which the nation" (to which, of course, the "converted" ones do not belong) "should wish for . . . the produce being greater when their joint labours are employed on one farm, there will be a surplus for manufactures, and by this means manufactures, one of the mines of the nation, will increase, in proportion to the quantity of corn produced."

The stoical peace of mind with which the political economist regards the most shameless violation of the "sacred rights of property" and the grossest acts of violence to persons, as soon as they are necessary to lay the foundations of the capitalist mode of production, is shown by Sir F. M. Eden, philanthropist and Tory, to boot. The whole series of thefts, outrages, and popular misery, that accompanied the forcible expropriation of the people, from the last third of the 15th to the end of the 18th century, led him merely to the comfortable conclusion: "The due proportion between arable land and pasture had to be established. During the whole of the 14th and the greater part of the 15th century, there was one acre of pasture to 2, 3, and even 4 of arable land. About the middle of the 16th century the proportion was changed to 2 acres of pasture to 2, later on, of 2 acres of pasture to one of arable, until at last the just proportion of 3 acres of pasture to one of arable land was attained."

(To be Continued.)

"CAN A MAN WORSHIP GOD AND MAMMON?"

o-o-

A PAMPHLET issued by the Church Socialist League, and written by the Rev. Paul B. Bull, suggests in its title, "What is Socialism," that within its pages is to be found an answer to this "perplexing" question. The writer informs us of the general ignorance existing on the subject, and proclaims the necessity for lucidity. In the subsequent pages, therefore, one naturally expects to find something definite.

In the reverend mind the systems of the past, and even the capitalist system itself, is fairly well understood. The basis of each can be explained in a few words, and the abuses common to them shown and condemned in a few more. But Socialism, which, he informs us, follows these other systems as inevitably as manhood follows youth, cannot be summed up by him in this fashion. In fact, he is uncertain, pitifully mixed, and self-contradictory from the commencement. Before he has reached a dozen paragraphs his ignorance of his subject is patent. "I must remind you," he says, "that Socialism means so many different things that the only way to get at clearness of definition is to find out the fundamental principles which underlie the various forms of Socialism." Some of these forms are mentioned later on, as for instance, "railways, tramways, water supply, gas works, and schools." He is evidently serious when he calls these "forms of Socialism," for he remarks: "It would be quite possible for England to allow several private companies to do all its postal work. But we have socialised this section of our life, and it works excellently."

These "forms of Socialism" that can be obtained by evolution, i.e., by capitalist administration, according to him are good. "The nation is able to regulate the wages, hours of labour, holidays, etc., of those whom it employs, so as to secure for them a reasonable, healthy and happy life, instead of allowing their conditions of life and labour to be beaten down . . . The result is a very fine body of workers who are diligent and efficient and often take a real pride in their work."—to the satisfaction of the capitalists, who pay less in rates as a result.

Evolution is Paul's panacea; revolution his bogey. Evolution has been the bugbear of the priest for half a century, but Paul embraces it. Continued evolution means capitalism continued, with possibilities for a priestly caste, consequently the proverbial "bull in a china shop" is not in it with the Rev. Bull among the revolutionaries. "The evolutionary Socialist is like the hen who lays an egg and provides the environment which will in due time enable the chicken to hatch out." "Revolutionary Social-

ism is like the foolish child who wants to break the egg before the chicken is ready." How blind these "evolutionists" always are to the revolution by which even their "chicken" must launch itself into its new existence!

Karl Marx needs no defenders, because he has not been attacked. To say that "he had the French Revolution on the brain" might pass for criticism with the feeble minded, but, after all, is only empty abuse. It is questionable whether the gentle follower of the "lowly Naztrene" even, is quite sure of what he means by the "French Revolution." A close acquaintance with the works of Marx, especially "Das Capital," would make his own puny efforts appear childish and insignificant; for, where he is not busy contradicting his previous statements, he does little more than separate ideas and persons into "good and bad" according to the opinions generated by his vocation.

As, for instance, when he says: "Socialists are doing bad work by the bitterness with which they preach the class-war." Shall they preach the class-war at all? He does not say. In what he does say, though, he admits the existence of the class-war, and if he was desirous of its speedy termination he would not help towards that end by trying to smother the knowledge of it.

I leave out of consideration whether the class-war should be preached with or without bitterness, or whether it is possible to preach any sort of war with "meekness and brotherly love" towards the enemy. Does the class-war exist? Emphatically yes, says the Christian exponent of "many different forms of Socialism." "There is no rational method of distributing the rewards of Labour. It is left to the ruinous conflict between Capital and Labour, which inevitably breeds the bitterness of class war, and strikes and lock-outs, etc." To sum up his conclusions, the capitalist system breeds a class war, but those who advocate its prosecution to a speedy termination are a bad lot.

The establishment of Socialism without class war and revolution is equally as impossible as hatching a chicken without breaking the shell, and the Rev. Bull, being anti-revolutionary, it follows that he is anti-Socialist. If he has completely failed to answer the question that forms the title of his pamphlet, he has at any rate succeeded in establishing his opposition to Socialism. His denunciations of the evils of capitalism are enhanced in value, because they now take the character of admissions by a capitalist defender. He might have made a thorough and energetic Socialist had his environment permitted—but regrets are useless and we can only take him as we find him. Illogical, superstitious, childish, and self-contradictory, yet with all strong in his faith that the capitalist system "is pregnant with evils that corrupt and destroy every possibility of a decent and happy life for the mass of the people."

Written long before the European War, he might claim the following as prophecy equal to anything achieved by Blatchford, if the Defence of the Realm Act did not deter him from calling attention to it.

"So the silent, cruel, bloodless war of commerce goes on under this evil system of individualism and unrestrained competition, until the whole world is one armed camp, in which day by day twenty million men are being carefully trained to kill one another."

As long as our social and commercial life is organised on the principle of unrestrained competition there can be only one ending—and that is universal war, as all nations fight for the markets of the world. It has not yet come to that because till now there has always been some outlet of energy, some undiscovered land, some new country to be developed. But now all lands are discovered, most markets have been seized, and each nation of Christian Europe must wait in the silence of awful preparation, gathering strength by inventions, by alliances, by diplomacy, by increase of army and navy till, by some swift act of cunning it can strike the first blow which shall destroy its adversary. Socialism can alone avert this universal war."

To those who claim that Socialism would destroy individuality this Clerical anti-Socialist replies most effectually, thus:

"For every one individual properly developed, thousands are crushed without a chance of developing their body, soul, or spirit. Thousands

of the children of the poor are worse housed and fed than the dogs and horses of the rich. . . . How can men say that individualism develops individuality when English towns are miracles of soul-destroying monotony; thousands of acres of squalid slums, hundreds of miles of monotonous streets witnessing the fact that our present social system has killed the sense of the beautiful from the soul of our race, and turned out millions of machine-made men without any individuality at all."

Touching on unemployment he is equally emphatic:

"This pitiful tragedy of unemployment is not a temporary accident. It is of the very essence of our system. It is to the advantage of employers that there should be a fair margin of 'unemployed,' as this keeps wages down to the lowest possible point, and enables employers to count on plentiful recruits when they have to suppress a revolt or to expand work to meet a special emergency."

In the pamphlet under review are many similar admissions, though often confused by religious vapourings; we might, space permitting, quote more with some advantage, but it is imperative that errors should be exposed because of the mischievous results that follow their acceptance by any considerable number of the workers. One of these errors is rather uncommon, but perhaps deserves notice. He says "Political economists defined the economic man—that is the man with whom they had to deal—as a money-making animal. They carefully eliminated all his affections, ambitions, appetites, instincts, hopes and aspirations, except that of self, and then from this mere beast of selfishness they constructed this evil economic system." The assumption here is, that economists are responsible for the Capitalist System, whereas a little thought will show that their influence on the methods or development of the system has been almost nil. Is Adam Smith to be held responsible for the system which he merely describes? or Nassau Senior to be charged with the crimes of the cotton lords when he was only their tool? One might as well say that Professor Ashley is responsible for the recent rise in prices, because he explained their cause, or that the S.P.G.B. has created selfishness because they correctly affirm that "Self interest dominates all human actions."

Herbert Spencer, though more sociologist than economist, enlarging upon the ideas of Adam Smith, endeavours to show that the beautiful thing about capitalism is that every individual in seeking his own interest is bound to further the interest of the community. But in order to elucidate this doctrine he affects not to see the division of classes into capitalists and wage-slaves, assuming the equal freedom of all to enter the commercial world in the desire for private gain. The Rev. Bull, however, is under no such delusion; he quite understands that the wage-worker is powerless to resist the tyranny of the capitalist, generally speaking. He says: "The bad employer does not mean to be a cruel man. He is the creation of this competitive system. He does not really want to under-pay and over-work his work-people—all he wants is money, more and more money, larger and larger dividends. He must have this or perish commercially."—The mere beast of selfishness.

Apart from the naive suggestion that it is only the bad employer that must perish commercially unless he sweats his work-people, the Rev. gentleman exposes his own error, by revealing the motive that prompts the capitalist. It needs no economist to show the capitalist where his interest lies. But whether the system is the result of evolution—as Paul himself shows in another place—or is consciously built up in strict accordance with the plans of economists, only concerns us so far as it helps us to understand how the system came to be. The problem before the workers is how to replace the present system based on slavery by one based on co-operation and freedom, within the limits imposed by nature.

Paul's answer to this problem is "to march under the banner of the Cross," and the league's method is "to cultivate by the regular use of prayer and sacraments the life of brotherhood"—notwithstanding the statement by himself that "the present system makes brotherhood

impossible." From such an impossible organisation one should expect to find a contradictory attitude on reforms—one is not disappointed.

After depicting the horrors of unemployment and poverty Paul says: "No palliatives, no mere social reforms, can remedy this. It is deep-rooted in wage-labour and capitalist system." Yet one of the rules of the organisation reads: "The members are pledged to make themselves familiar with at least one branch of social reform."

This contradictory attitude is typical of the B.S.P. and I.L.P. But the Rev. gentleman becomes if anything more ludicrous than they by a third contradiction. He says: "Revolutionary Socialism, in appealing to force and self interest, contains in itself the seed of its own destruction. For as soon as reform has satisfied the majority they will cease to be keenly socialistic."

To sum up, capitalist economics like capitalist history is self-praise of the capitalist system, the eulogy of time-servers that prostitute their talents for a place in the sun. The workers, at any rate, can feel no pride in the victories and achievements of the ruling class, because their subjection has been the chief result. When they awake to this fact their antagonism to the ruling class will be real and deep. Class hatred is the natural outcome of the division of classes. The class that in its own interest endeavours to maintain a method of wealth distribution that no longer harmonises with the prevailing mode of production is at enmity with the rest of society—the working class. The workers cannot fight the system, their fight is with the class whose first principle is to maintain it.

When the history of to-day comes to be written it will be a record of the vicissitudes of the working class in awaking to a consciousness of their slave position and establishing themselves in uncompromising hostility to their rulers. The class struggle must continue till the working class are victorious; there can be no cessation, because there are no reforms possible of application that can stay the worsening of working-class conditions, or lying defenders that can permanently confuse the workers and hinder their enlightenment. F. F.

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THE CONFUSION OF THE "CLARION"
"ECONOMISTS."
[To the Editor.]

The authors of the letter indicate who they regard as the "pure and simple political party of Socialism" when they say in an earlier passage, "the European Socialist movement—and that means largely the movement in Germany, France and Austria," and go on to talk of the "vast numbers which the movement in general in Europe enlisted under the banner of Socialism, the great vote cast in the various countries," and so forth. They leave no doubt at all that it is those gigantic parties on the Continent who take up a similar attitude to that adopted by the Labour Party in this country whom they hail as the "pure and simple political party of Socialism."

sations. They were not founded upon the principle of the class struggle. They had not done the work of politically educating their supporters. They had not built up their strength upon an electorate understanding the working-class position and desiring revolution. These millions of so-called Socialist voters did not understand the class division in society, and did not, therefore, realise the unity of interest of the workers the world over, and the clash between the interests of the working class and the master class, at every point, nationally and internationally. Their votes had been attracted by all manner of nostrums and side-issues, and simply expressed opinions thereon, and not on the vital

A moment's consideration will show how little justification any organisation can have for describing itself as a Socialist body, that holds that "industrial unionism is the embryo, the undeveloped form of future society." The idea is anti-social and anti-democratic. It is anarchistic to the very marrow. It is founded upon antago-

The Socialist Party of Great Britain calls the attention of the workers of this and other lands to the fact that, founded as a political organisation upon Socialist principles, it has maintained the true working-class position in relation to the war without difficulty. We cannot boast of the support of millions of voters at the polls, but no one can point to a single word or deed of ours, in this time of crisis, which has been a betrayal of the cause of the proletariat. Well for Socialism, well for the stricken workers, well for the great cause of humanity, if, when the present riot of anarchy is over, and those who have to pay for it in blood and tears come to count the cost and apportion the blame, they realise that the political party of Socialism, weak though it was in numbers, was strong enough to denounce the war on all sides, was strong enough to expose the misleaders of Labour and their purchased "patriotism," strong enough to avow and maintain, in the face of a frenzy of insane nationalism, the unity of interest of the workers of all countries, strong enough to remain Socialists and keep the flag of Socialism flying.

9. Now for another little matter. One of your writers observed some time ago that a rise in wages to the workers in a particular industry need not necessarily mean an increase in the cost of the articles produced. This does not seem to me to agree with the argument that commodities are exchanged (or sold) at their cost of production. On the face of it if this is so, a rise of 50 per cent. in the wages of the workers making boots, we'll say, would mean a rise of 50 per cent. in the cost of the boots. If this is not so, what becomes of the statement that articles exchange in the market at their cost of production?

2. As stated above the only bank in England issuing notes that are legal tender is the Bank of England, and the amount issued by the others is so small as to be of no general account.

Under the Bank Act of 1844, the Bank of England can only issue notes to the value of the gold held in its vaults plus notes to the amount of the Government Debt and Government Securities held by the Bank.

BANK OF ENGLAND WEEKLY ACCOUNT.	
10th Feb., 1915.	
Notes issued	£ 8,152,075
Govt. Debt	£ 11,015,100
Other securities	7,131,900
Gold coin	
and bullion	66,002,075
Total	£ 8,152,075
	Total
	£ 8,152,075

In times of great crisis this Act has been suspended, as in 1847, 1857, and 1866, and the Bank has been allowed to issue notes without any gold backing, but apart from these three occasions, the Bank Note issue is regulated as

above.

3. As Marx clearly shows, the purchasing-power of a metallic medium of exchange only tends to pass at its value where international trade and exchanges take place. Inside a national or a local boundary, under certain conditions, a medium of exchange may circulate indefinitely at a face value far above its real value. The silver coinage of the countries in the "Latin Union" are a big example of this fact. In this country the sovereign does actually circulate at its value, but the silver and copper tokens circulate at a face value much above their real value.

Obviously there is no such thing as "paper money coinage." Paper money or paper currency falls into two main divisions—"convertible" and "inconvertible." The "inconvertible" circulates at a price entirely dependent upon the credit of the government issuing it, and its consideration need not detain us here. "Convertible" paper is that paper for which gold (or silver in silver currency countries) can be obtained upon demand at the government's bank. Its face value will therefore vary with the change in the value of the metal it is convertible into, and as silver fluctuates more than gold, its paper representative will vary more than the latter's.

4. Paper money has certainly not superseded "the use of gold coinage" to day, as a large amount of gold still circulates here. What has happened is that the notes have replaced a portion of the gold previously circulating here. The "gold standard" not only remains, but any or all of these notes can be presented at the Bank of England and gold demanded for them, though Lloyd George expressed the hope that they would not be presented and so far his hope has been realised. The total amount of the notes outstanding on February 10th, 1915, was £36,102,858 and it is quite possible that gold could be paid in full for every one of these notes.

5. Apart from certain technical modifications to the statement, the Marxian analysis is as stated by our correspondent. The point of coinage is already dealt with in answer to No. 3.

6. Seeing that Bankers and Financiers charge the same interest on notes as on gold when making a loan, the absurdity of the claim of the "Clarion" writers is clearly seen.

7. If the writers on the "Clarion" had their way—No! the way of the currency crank they follow. A. Kitchin—it is probable that it would be widespread bankruptcy that would "regulate" their issue of paper money. Their schemes have been tried in the past with disaster to those who adopted them.

8. The "Guernsey Market Hall" is the great stalking horse of the paper money idiots. It baffles them by its very simplicity and obviousness, whilst its greatest significance is—that it has never been repeated even in Guernsey. If the inhabitants of a town wish certain works to be done, they may either (a) employ people to do it, or (b) do it themselves. It is solely a question of economy and efficiency in attaining the result. In almost every case it is cheaper and better to "pool" the expense and let those with a knowledge of the particular business carry it out. In the Guernsey case building operatives were employed and paid with notes on the Guernsey Council. The local tradesmen agreed to take these notes in exchange for commodities, and the Council took them from the tradesmen as payment for rates. Obviously, if a workman wished to leave Guernsey—even for a day or two—the notes were useless to him as they would only exchange in Guernsey. Secondly, the tradesman clearly could only pay part of his rates by the notes as the other municipal expenses were still running on the ordinary lines. Moreover, he could not pay his merchants with them, and as he received them every week and only paid them back once a quarter or half year, it meant his money was lying idle and losing interest during that period.

Evidently they came to the conclusion that it was better from their business standpoint to borrow money in the future than to repeat the experiment; for it has to be remembered that all these things happen under capitalism, where profit is the great god. In other words, the

"payment of interest" was not actually avoided, it was only borne in another way.

9. Here our correspondent is mixing up wages with cost of production. The whole question is so clearly and splendidly dealt with by Marx in his "Value, Price and Profit" that the questioner is referred to that pamphlet for reply.

10. Again a confusion exists here between price and tax. It is assumed that prices are determined by taxes, which, in reality, are the smallest factors in the whole sum. This is shown with great clearness by the fact that other commodities—as bread, meat, coal, etc.—have, without any tax at all, risen far higher than beer or tea! Wages only rise when the supply of labour-power is short compared to the demand, or when the workers struggle to force them up. Of course every struggle is not successful. Prices may rise for some time before wages follow, but the essential point is that the rise of prices is affected by two chief factors (1) increase in cost of production, (2) reduction of competition either by shortage of supply or elimination of some of the competitors, as shown in the recent rise in shipping rates. Taxes may sometimes be another factor, though, as said above, it is in general the smallest of all.

J. F.

THE TROUBLES OF A "MARXIAN STUDENT."

TO THE EDITOR.

Sir,—

As a student of Marxian economics, it is rather disconcerting to find a serious difference of opinion among many prominent Marxists, regarding a vital part of Marx's theories.

The first point about which the controversy revolves, is the part played by merchants' capital and the workers engaged in the sphere of circulation. Let us take the well-known American Marxian student, Ernest Untermann, as typical of one side of the case.

In his book, "Marxian Economics," he lays down the following position. Value is only produced in the process of production and transportation. Any labour expended in the circulation of commodities, even though socially necessary, is unproductive, not only of use value, (as is obvious), but also of exchange-value. To quote from "Marxian Economics," page 192:

"The quicker a capitalist can sell his commodities, the sooner he will reproduce his capital and pocket his profits. But the selling of commodities requires time and expenses. If the manufacturing capitalist wants to be his own merchant and sell his own commodities, he must have a special department in his establishment attending to the sales. For this purpose he must invest a large portion of his capital unproductively and tie it up in the sales department. Whatever he has tied up in this fashion he cannot invest as productive capital. It will not produce any surplus-value. It is a dead expense to him. The labour of the wage workers in the sales department is also unproductive from the point of view of society, because it does not produce any new values, but only assists in the circulation of already existing values. Of course, the labour of these wage workers is socially necessary, because the product must be sold before the capitalist can recover its value. But it is unproductive labour and belongs to the dead expense of social production."

From this proposition, which he says is the position taken up by Marx in the second and third volumes of "Capital," it follows that the profits of the capitalist engaged in the circulation process, are derived from the surplus value which originates in production. This Untermann declares to be the case; he says (page 194): "One way of getting rid quickly of his newly produced commodities is to sell them to somebody who will undertake the risk of buying and selling, without going into the sphere of production. In this way, a division of labour arises between the industrial capitalist, who confines himself to the sphere of production, and the merchant capitalist, who operates wholly in the sphere of circulation. . . . But it is evident that the merchant capitalist, who undertakes the risk of circulating the products of the industrial capitalist, will not do so for pleasure, but will exact a certain reward from the indus-

trial capitalist for his risk. In other words, the industrial capitalist must sell his commodities to the merchant capitalist at a lower figure than he would ask if he sold them himself. He must yield up a portion of his profits to the merchant."

Now it would seem that, if the workers engaged in the process of circulation create no new values they are not exploited. This Untermann denies, for he says (page 192): "So far as the relation of these wage workers to the capitalist is concerned, he pays only for their labour-power, not for the time that he employs them."

To that extent the wage workers in the department of circulation are exploited like the wage workers in the department of production. But they do not produce any surplus-value for the capitalist. They merely save some of the already produced surplus-value for him in proportion as they work longer than they are paid for, and thus sell more commodities and help to realise more of the already existing surplus-value for him than he could realise if they worked shorter hours."

To me this is a most absurd statement for a Marxist to make; for how can a labourer work longer than he is paid for if he creates no value? Again he states on page 198: "The merchant has invested a certain amount of money-capital in a store, equipment, and wage labourers (clerks, salesmen, etc.) These wage labourers are unproductive like the merchant himself, although they work for him a longer time than he pays for. But their surplus labour is as unproductive as the capital of the merchant. They merely realise the surplus-value for the merchant, which was produced in the sphere of production, and make profits for him so much quicker, the more their unproductive surplus-labour is extended and their necessary labour shortened," to which I would retort, what is there to distinguish between their surplus and their necessary labour if the workers can never produce the equivalent of their wages, or reproduce for the capitalist the variable capital he has invested in their labour-power.

Untermann is supported in his interpretation of Marx's theory of circulation by Louis B. Boudin. Two quotations from his work, "The Theoretical System of Karl Marx," must suffice. On page 76 he says: "The division of the surplus-value takes place in the circulation process, and expresses itself in the different prices at which the commodity is sold at the different stages of this process," and again on page 130: "The price of production at which commodities are sold at a certain stage of their existence is always below their value; and the capitalists engaged in the circulation of commodities exclusively, the merchants, get as profits on their capitals surplus-value not produced by them but merely realised by them. The capitalists who produced this surplus-value are forced to divide up with them by the very economic conditions which permit them to retain their own proportionate share."

Karl Kautsky also appears to hold the same views, for in his pamphlet, "The Capitalist Class," we find on page 5: "The owners of industrial capital, however, obtain their profit by exploiting the propertyless wage workers. But as the capitalist mode of production develops, so industrial capital gains the ascendancy over other kinds of capital, and subjects these to its service, as we have seen. This, however, is possible only by assigning to merchants' and usurers' capital part of the surplus-value wrung from the wage workers." Now, it appears to me that if this view is correct, quite a large proportion of the proletariat of a capitalist country are not exploited, notwithstanding the statements of Untermann to the contrary.

Before we examine the case of the Marxists who oppose the above construction of Marx's economics, let us first see what Marx himself has to say about the matter in the first volume of "Capital." On page 578 (English edition) we find: "The capitalist who produces surplus-value—i.e., who extracts unpaid labour directly from the labourers, and fixes it in commodities, is, indeed, the first appropriator, but by no means the ultimate owner of this surplus-value. He has to share it with capitalists, with landowners, &c., who fulfil other functions in the complex of social production. Surplus-value, therefore, splits up into various parts. Its fragments fall to various categories of persons, and take various forms, independent the one of

the other, such as profit, interest, merchants' profits, rent, &c. It is only in Book III. that we can take in hand these modified forms of surplus-value."

Here Marx appears to hold the view which Untermann says he develops in the second and third volumes.

Whenever I have been in a discussion with fellow-Socialists, and this matter has been brought up, I have usually found that a totally different view is held by many of those present. They hold that the labour of clerks, warehousemen, etc., adds to the value of the commodities which they handle, and that the profit of the merchant is derived from the surplus-value created by his employees in the same manner as the profit of the industrial capitalist. They point to the statement of Marx, that a school-master, although he produces no material object or use-value, yet produces value and surplus-value, and thus is exploited by the proprietor of the school.

Here, then, are the two groups of Marxists, with the two theories; which is the true, which the false? Are the workers in a warehouse for instance or in an office exploited of the product of their labour? Is the profit of a merchant derived from the labour of his own employees, or from the labour of the employees of the industrial capitalist? If you can help me to arrive at a knowledge of the correct position on the problem herein discussed I and I believe many other Socialist students will be grateful.—Yours fraternally,

R. W. HOUSLEY.

An examination of our correspondent's letter shows that, according to his own account, the "prominent Marxists" who have "a serious difference of opinion" consist of Untermann, Boudin, Kautsky, and Marx on one side, and Mr. Housley with some "celebrated unknown" friends of his on the other.

Another point showing clearly through the letter is that Mr. Housley has completely failed to grasp the difference between the distribution of commodities and the circulation of capital. The former is a necessary social factor for consumption, and is treated by Marx in the second volume of "Capital" under the heading "Transport." The latter is the course or path taken by capital in realising surplus-value.

Obviously distribution of commodities is socially necessary before consumption can take place, and the energy employed thus counts as productive labour, producing both value and use-value. In this branch of production stores, warehouses, offices, elevators, etc., are necessary means of carrying on the business and count as means of production in the technical sense.

The path travelled in the circulation of capital may, however, vary enormously. To take one point only, a small capitalist may spend only a few shillings advertising in a local paper, while a huge concern may spend large sums on representatives in various parts of the world.

These expenses of snatching business from rivals are not themselves "productive" expenses, and must therefore be paid out of wealth turned out by the workers actually engaged in production. It is here that Mr. Housley finds himself in difficulties, for he says: "Now it would seem that if the workers engaged in the process of circulation create no new values they are not exploited." (Italics ours.) It is significant that Mr. Housley gives no reasons for this statement. Probably if he tried to reason the matter out he would find that he had wrapped up his conclusion in his premise by assuming that exploitation can only take place when new values are produced. This, of course, is absurd. Perhaps an illustration will make this clear.

A burglar is an "unproductive worker" as he only handles wealth already produced. When he takes the goods he burgles to the receiver he is certainly exploited by the latter—that is robbed of the wealth he has himself stolen.

So under capitalism. The industrial capitalist is the first appropriator of surplus-value. A portion of this surplus-value is used for the expenses of circulation. But in a business of modern type—that is on a large scale—whether the industrial capitalist runs the department himself or hands it over to another capitalist, the circulation is carried on, not by either of these capitalists, but by those they employ.

It should be clear to any student of Marx that the cost of this circulation department will have

a certain social average, depending upon the branch and size of the business. The industrial capitalist will be prepared to hand over to the second capitalist an amount approximating to this average, and this is the kernel of the matter.

The second capitalist engages wage workers to carry through the operations connected with this circulation. Obviously he only puts his money into the business for the profit he can get out of it. But whence this profit? He does nothing himself. The original producers have already been robbed by the industrial capitalist. The latter has only paid for the time socially necessary for the circulation operations. But the second capitalist pays less than this amount to his employees, and thus his profit is contained in the margin between the socially necessary expense of circulation and the amount he pays his wage slaves. Clearly this margin is only obtained by exploiting his employees, without whom he would have obtained nothing.

But, says our correspondent, "to me this is a most absurd statement for a Marxist to make; for how can a labourer work longer than he is paid for if he creates no value?" (Italics ours.) This statement is utter confusion. Does Mr. Housley wish to infer that a labourer is only paid when he creates value? Such an absurdity should be apparent even to him when—to take one instance only—in so small a country as this there are about 2,000,000 domestic servants engaged. And again, how long should these servants work? Evidently 24 hours every day, for "how can they work longer" than they are paid for?

Again, in the same paragraph he says: "What is there to distinguish between their surplus and their necessary labour?" This is answered above where we point out the difference between the labour time necessary to carry on the operations of the circulation of capital and the labour time necessary to produce the subsistence of the wage slaves employed in that circulation.

After references to Boudin and Kautsky we come to paragraph 9, where Marx is quoted and we are told that "Marx himself appears to hold the same view."

On this point we are at one with our correspondent, for on several occasions we have found Marx indulging in the disconcerting habit of agreeing with himself—even where he has been accused of contradicting Marx.

Thus his own words with relation to the school-master are as follows: "If we may take an example from outside the sphere of production of material objects, a school-master is a productive labourer when, in addition to belabouring the heads of his scholars, he works like a horse to enrich the school proprietor. That the latter has laid out his capital in a teaching factory instead of a sausage factory does not alter the relation." ("Capital," Eng. ed., page 517.) And further on he says: "Hence the notion of a productive labourer implies . . . also a specific social relation . . ." (Ibid.)

All this is quite clear to the serious student. From the employers' point of view all labourers are "productive labourers" who bring them profit whether as actual producers or through some intermediate process of capitalism. As he only obtains his profit by employing them he must evidently exploit them.

So far the only "two groups of Marxists" our correspondent has shown are those who agree with Marx and those who—like Mr. Housley—have failed to understand him.

Whether the workers in a warehouse or an office are exploited of the "product of their labour" depends upon whether they are engaged in production and distribution of commodities or not. If the former, the answer is yes! If engaged in the circulation of capital, then, as shown above, they are exploited in the process of diverting surplus value (made in production) into the pockets of their employer. The profit of a merchant is derived so far as he is concerned from his own employees, though the total cost of these operations are met out of the surplus-value made in actual production.

J. F.

OUR ANNUAL.

Don't forget our Annual Social and Dance, of which an advert. appears on the 3rd page.

OUR ALLIES AND NEUTRALITY.

It is a very strange thing how deeply the average worker of to day is concerned about the independence and neutrality of "Plucky Little Belgium." One would think to hear some of them talk, that it was the alpha and omega of this country, to protect the smaller and weaker States of the world from the continual encroachments of their larger and more powerful enemies. The capitalist Press is devoting much ink and paper in telling us that the present crisis into which we have been drawn, "to maintain our dignity and honour," is due to Germany's disregard for the neutrality and independence of Belgium, which had been guaranteed to them by treaty, and Lt. Gen. Imhoff, at Urania Hall, Berlin, is reported by the "Daily Call," of the 8th October, 1914, to have made the following remark: "Foreign policy is the expression of national egoism, consequently every treaty is worthless when national interests demand that they should be broken." This with reference to agreements signed by the capitalist governments of to-day (with which I shall deal later) hits the nail squarely on the head. He then went on to say that "necessity breaks even iron itself," and as one of the greatest necessities of the capitalist class is the extension of markets for the expansion of their trade, it is quite obvious why agreements signed one day are broken the next.

We are therefore called upon by our masters to down tools at once and fight for "freedom and democracy" against the tyrannous aggression of Belgium by the Kaiser and his hordes.

Now before accepting the statement that England and her allies are fighting for freedom, it would be advisable to first of all examine a little of the past history of these "champions of the smaller States," to see how they have performed in this respect, in the past, before joining hands with them in the present.

We will then, in the first place, take the noble and liberty-loving government of Russia, which in 1911, to show their love of freedom and independence of the smaller States, violently attacked Persia, in collusion with Great Britain, in spite of the fact that they were pledged by agreement signed in 1907, to maintain the independence and integrity of this small country. And her continued encroachments on the liberties of Finland from 1900 to 1911 was, of course, also due to her "desire to defend the smaller States."

France, another of our allies, has by her occupation of Fez, in 1911, overthrown the independence of Morocco, which, by the Act of Algeiras, she and other Powers pledged themselves to maintain.

Japan, another country with which England is allied, and which has promised to support them in maintaining the independence of Belgium, annexed Korea in 1911, thus violating the agreement of 1904, which was supposed to guarantee Korea's independence and integrity.

England, with her anxiety for the "independence" of the smaller States, could not be out of this "good work," so she absorbed with the aid of blood and fire the Transvaal and Orange Free State Republics of South Africa in 1902. And even now while this war is still raging and while the hirelings of the allied Press are foaming with anger about the broken agreement of Belgium's neutrality by Germany, they themselves are losing no time in snatching colonies from the latter, quite irrespective of the wishes of the inhabitants thereof.

And again, while England has repeatedly promised to evacuate Egypt, she has for more than thirty years continued to maintain her hold on that country, and has finally annexed it—of course, for the good of the Egyptians; and these are the countries which appear so troubled about the broken agreement concerning the independence and neutrality of Belgium.

No, dear reader, it is not the freedom of "Brave Little Belgium" that the allies are so anxious about, but the freedom of the capitalist class of England, France and Russia from the competition of their greatest rivals and pacemakers, the German capitalist class. A government like ours, which could not see its way clear to incorporate a 5s. per day minimum

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"Weekly People" (New York).
"Gaelic American" (New York).
"British Columbia Federationist" (Vancouver).
"Civil Service Socialist" (London).
"Freedom" (London).
"Cotton's Weekly" (Canada).
"Appeal to Reason" (Kansas).
"International News Letter" (Berlin).
"The Western Clarion" (Vancouver).
"The Socialist" (Melbourne).
"Industrial Union News" (Detroit).

wage in the Miners' Act 1912 does not suddenly become loaded with the burden of protecting the smaller States, at the expense of (according to "Reynolds," 27th Oct., 1914) £39,000,000 per month.

De B. Gibbon, in the "Industrial History of England," tells us that all the wars of the nineteenth century in which England was engaged were fought in the interests of commerce, and the wars of the present century appear to be pretty much the same.

Your enemy is here at home, as the enemy of the German working class is in Germany, consequently we ask you to study the facts, and when you have analysed them with the same intelligence as you use in your daily toil, you will join with us in the great struggle, not for Belgium for the Belgians, nor Europe for the Europeans, but of the world for the workers.
H. BARNETT.

Printed and Published by THE SOCIALIST PARTY of Great Britain, 193 Grays Inn Road, London, W.C.

**THE SOCIALIST PARTY
OF GREAT BRITAIN.****OBJECT.**

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community.

Declaration of Principles

THE SOCIALIST PARTY of Great Britain

HOLDS—

THAT society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master class, and the consequent enslavement of the working class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.

That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce and those who produce but do not possess.

That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

That as in the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind, without distinction of race or sex.

That this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.

That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working-class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.

That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

The SOCIALIST PARTY of Great Britain, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

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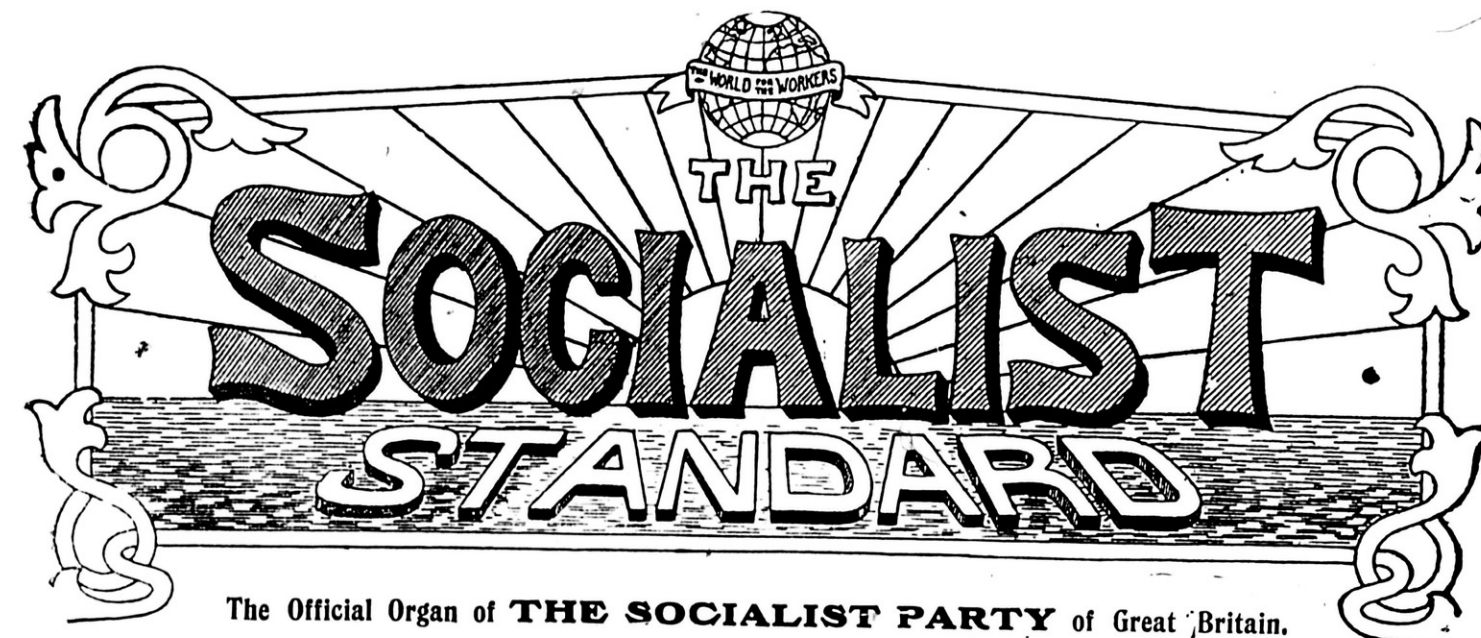
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LONDON, APRIL, 1915.

[MONTHLY, ONE PENNY.]

OUR PARTY CONFERENCE AND THE WAR.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY of Great Britain seizes the opportunity of its Annual Conference to endorse the action of the Party Executive with regard to the thieves' quarrel known as the European Crisis.

While the International Master Class—the only enemy of the Working Class—has almost succeeded in obscuring the greater war—the Class Struggle—this Conference affirms that the Party has maintained, and is maintaining, the Socialist position through the crucial period, and has clearly and boldly pushed forward on every possible occasion Working-Class interests as opposed to those of the Masters.

The flood of light resulting from Socialist knowledge shows clearly to the student how this war is but a logical result of the workings of Capitalism, and is being waged in the interests of the Master Class. The laboured and tortuous attempts to place the cause of the war on this, that or the other detail or side issue, are seen in their full futility when it is realised that it is impossible to have vast opposing interests operating within certain bounds without those interests, sooner or later, coming into conflict. In this conflict the Working Class have nothing to gain from the defeat or victory of any of the nations engaged. The lot of the Workers at the end of this war will be one of greater poverty, misery, and enslavement. THE SOCIALIST PARTY, therefore, unanimously opposes the war, as it unanimously opposes all capitalist machinations along with Capitalism itself.

In view, therefore, of the unanimity of the Party, this Conference makes the following pronouncement, and with fraternal greetings sends it out to the Workers of all lands:

Whereas the capitalists of Europe have quarrelled over the question of the control of trade routes and the world's markets, and are endeavouring to exploit the political ignorance and blind passions of the Working Class of their respective countries in order to induce the said Workers to take up arms in what is solely their masters' quarrel, and

Whereas further, the pseudo-Socialists and labour "leaders" of this country, in common with their fellows on the Continent, have again betrayed the working-class position, either through their ignorance of it, their cowardice, or worse, and are assisting the Master Class to confuse the minds of the Workers and turn their attention from the Class Struggle,

THE SOCIALIST PARTY of Great Britain reaffirms the Socialist position, which is as follows:

That Society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living by the Capitalist or Master Class, and the consequent enslavement of the Working Class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.

That in Society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a *CLASS WAR*, between those who possess but do not produce and those who produce but do not possess.

That the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exist only to conserve the monopoly by the Capitalist Class of the wealth taken from the Workers.

These armed forces, therefore, will only be set in motion to further the interests of the class who control them—the Master Class—and as the Workers interests are not bound up in the struggle for markets wherein their masters may dispose of the wealth they have stolen from the workers, but in the struggle to end the system under which they are robbed, they are not concerned with the present European struggle, which is already known as the "*BUSINESS*" War.

**WAGE WORKERS OF THE WORLD UNITE! YOU HAVE NOTHING TO LOSE
BUT YOUR CHAINS, YOU HAVE A WORLD TO WIN!—Marx**

A BIT TO GO ON WITH.

In our February issue appeared a pronouncement by the Executive Committee of the S.P.G.B. under the heading: "Socialism and the European 'Socialists,'" in the course of which some reference was made to a circular sent out by the Socialist Labour Party of America. As usual, the S.P.G.B. Executive did not mince matters, and the result is that they have felt a jolt on the other side of the herring-pond. In the issue of the "Weekly People" (New York, the organ of the S.L.P. of A.) dated March 6th appears the following:

"The Executive Committee of the Socialist Party of Great Britain in an article on 'Socialism and the European 'Socialists,'" published in that party's official organ for February, 1915, disagrees with the Socialist Labour Party's declaration that a pure and simple Socialist political organisation cannot be of adequate service to the working class emancipation. The Executive Committee of the Socialist Party of Great Britain states its disagreement with our party in this language:

"We have before us at the moment a circular issued by the Socialist Labor Party of America in which they state: 'The events in Europe are likewise a demonstration of the principle that a pure and simple political party of Socialism, however revolutionary it may be in its utterances, cannot be of real service to the proletariat . . . ' This is another example of the opportunity the compromising policy of the pseudo-Socialists has provided for other enemies of class-conscious organisation. The statement is false. It is not for the reason that it is a 'pure and simple political party of Socialism' that the 'International Movement' has failed the workers in this crisis, but because its politics were impure. Its foundation had the cardinal fault which, among others, attaches to the pet obsession of the S.L.P.: it was not grounded upon the principle of the Class Struggle."

"It is amusing to be told in all seriousness that 'the cardinal fault' of the 'pet obsession' of the S.L.P. is that it is 'not grounded upon the principle of the Class Struggle.' We presume that this Executive Committee of the S.P.G.B. refers to the Socialist Labor Party's insistence upon revolutionary political and revolutionary industrial action when it mentions that 'pet obsession.' The presumption is wrong. It was not ACTION we were talking about, but ORGANISATION. The S.L.P. may bawl and squall for 'revolutionary action,' but the action must necessarily partake of the nature of the organisation *for* the action. Our first business, therefore, was with the organisation onto which the S.L.P. are trying to switch the workers."

The "pet obsession" we were referring to is "Industrial Unionism," which (as is pointed out in our last issue) is not founded on the Class Struggle because, instead of uniting the workers as a class, it divides them by industries. There are other reasons also, but this is sufficient on this point for the time being."

The second point, that the S.L.P. of A. is an enemy of class-conscious organisation, is easily dealt with. Inasmuch that they advocate organisation upon lines of industries they oppose organisation upon lines of class. The reflection of this is found in that realisation of their "pet obsession," the I.W.W., which is clearly not an organisation of class-conscious workers. If the S.L.P. has any other conception of class-conscious organisation than that which begins and ends with the organisation of the class-conscious, let them save themselves with it now."

Our American opponents' remark anent our declaration that the "International Movement" failed the workers because its politics were impure is as shallow as the rest of their statements. Our assertion will not bear the interpretation which they try to put upon it, viz., that it is equal to saying that pure Socialist politics would have rescued the workers. The "International Movement" did not fail the workers in the sense of not preventing the war, for it was never in its power, whatever policy it adopted, to do so. It failed the workers in neglecting to take up the Socialist position in reference to the war, and it did this because its politics, its policy, and its organisation were not sound. The S.L.P. of A.'s circular itself says that the "European Comrades" became "enmeshed in bourgeois politics." This, from the Socialist standpoint, is impurity, and must always mean the betrayal of working class interests."

The "pure rot" is provided by the S.L.P. in the form of the statement that the workers possess power over industry. Anything more

pure. That their politics were not as revolutionary as they might have been granted; crudities existed; but that can be explained and allowances made. That, however, is one thing, and impurity is another. Laughable indeed, though, is the principle of 'class struggle politics' and no physical power to back them up; laughable indeed the purpose to take and hold the industries and no industrial organisation to do it! But then, perhaps the S.P.G.B. doesn't intend to take and hold the industries,—which again would indicate its own peculiar brand of 'Socialism.'"

We have reproduced this windy attempt at humour for the specific purpose of showing how utterly unable the S.L.P. of A. are to erect any serious and adequate defence against the grave charge we brought against them in our February issue. It is more than barely probable that what we had to say about their bumptious circular in our March issue may lead the S.L.P. of A. to further windy efforts, so we need not waste a great deal of time and space upon the effusion already to hand. We desire, however, to point out that, so far, the S.L.P. of A. have offered nothing but a bare denial, together with a little ditch-watery sarcasm, to the charges we voiced against them, namely, that they are enemies of the class-conscious organisation of the workers, and that their "pet obsession" has not the Class Struggle foundation."

Of course, the S.L.P. of A. would retort that a denial was all that was called for by the assertion that they are enemies of the class-conscious organisation of the workers, and proceed upon unsound lines. They may claim that they are waiting for us to support our charges with arguments. In that case well and good—we have given them both opportunity and provocation in our March issue."

Now for the points in the S.L.P.'s first reply. They say that they "presume that this Executive Committee of the S.P.G.B. refers to the Socialist Labor Party's insistence upon revolutionary political and revolutionary industrial action when it mentions that 'pet obsession.'"

The presumption is wrong. It was not ACTION we were talking about, but ORGANISATION. The S.L.P. may bawl and squall for "revolutionary action," but the action must necessarily partake of the nature of the organisation *for* the action. Our first business, therefore, was with the organisation onto which the S.L.P. are trying to switch the workers."

The "pet obsession" we were referring to is "Industrial Unionism," which (as is pointed out in our last issue) is not founded on the Class Struggle because, instead of uniting the workers as a class, it divides them by industries. There are other reasons also, but this is sufficient on this point for the time being."

The second point, that the S.L.P. of A. is an enemy of class-conscious organisation, is easily dealt with. Inasmuch that they advocate organisation upon lines of industries they oppose organisation upon lines of class. The reflection of this is found in that realisation of their "pet obsession," the I.W.W., which is clearly not an organisation of class-conscious workers. If the S.L.P. has any other conception of class-conscious organisation than that which begins and ends with the organisation of the class-conscious, let them save themselves with it now."

Our American opponents' remark anent our declaration that the "International Movement" failed the workers because its politics were impure is as shallow as the rest of their statements. Our assertion will not bear the interpretation which they try to put upon it, viz., that it is equal to saying that pure Socialist politics would have rescued the workers. The "International Movement" did not fail the workers in the sense of not preventing the war, for it was never in its power, whatever policy it adopted, to do so. It failed the workers in neglecting to take up the Socialist position in reference to the war, and it did this because its politics, its policy, and its organisation were not sound. The S.L.P. of A.'s circular itself says that the "European Comrades" became "enmeshed in bourgeois politics." This, from the Socialist standpoint, is impurity, and must always mean the betrayal of working class interests."

absurd could hardly be conceived. Who has power over industry is seen immediately the workers enter into a dispute with the masters. The former, if the quarrel assumes sufficient importance, very soon find themselves out in the street, and if they attempt to force their way into the factories or workshops, the masters quickly show them whether "economic organisation" is (to quote the S.L.P.'s resolution to the Stuttgart Conference) "the only conceivable force with which to back up the ballot," or the strike, or the lock-out, or any other activity."

The idea that the workers have "power over industry" is exquisite foolery. What "conceivable force" gives them any such power? That is a question the Industrial Unionists cannot answer. The most they can do is to come out on strike, which, instead of controlling industry, is mere cessation of industry. Let them attempt to carry on production against the will of the owners of the means of production and they soon find the "power which the workers daily have in their hands while in the workshops" is not much of a protection against the policeman's baton, or the soldier's bullet. That "vital power of the working class" which looms so large in the Industrial Unionist mind, as objects do in a fog, is simply the power of the slave over the instruments of his slavery. What a force with which to "back up the ballot!"

A little sarcasm goes a long way—with those who are not prepared to do much thinking. And if the sarcasm is accompanied with a little hysterical laughter, it goes all the further. The S.L.P. having found this out seems to imagine that it has found a substitute for argument. This need not, however, prevent us pointing out again, without prejudice to our demand for working-class organisation (on class lines) on the economic field, that "laughable indeed" as it may appear to the S.L.P. of A., "class struggle politics" may derive from *political* organisation the "physical power to back them up."

Human physical power is resident in the bodies of mankind. For collective economic purposes it requires organising on the economic plane; for collective political purposes it must be politically organised. But for military purposes it must be organised on military lines. Now the master class have organised this "physical force" on all three planes—for their own ends. Their economic organisation exists only to produce their profits; their political organisation exists to maintain their position and their interests; their military organisation exists as the supreme instrument for maintaining their privileged position. If the "captains of industry" believe their interests to be seriously threatened they have to apply to the political powers to set the military instrument in motion. It is clear enough, then, that the military instrument is part of the political machinery, and is controlled by those who control that political machinery. It is the force with which the masters, in the last resort, back up the ballot."

The talk about the power of the workers in the workshops being the "one source of power"—physical power—with which to back up the ballot is more than a little bit wild, but its essential fault is that it loses sight of the fact that it is precisely to prevent the workers getting or exercising power in the field of industry (which they can only do by seizing the instruments of labour) that the armed forces of the nation primarily exist. It is for this reason that the workers cannot look to economic organisation to supply the "physical force to back up the ballot." The armed forces of the State are not to be opposed, but are to be controlled, through the conquest of the machinery of government, and used for the overthrow of the capitalist system. So far from true is it that the "only conceivable source of power" with which the workers can back up the ballot is that to be found in economic organisation, that it is the economic organisation which will need the backing of the organised military force—controlled by the politically triumphant proletariat—to enable it to perform its penultimate function, the placing of the instruments of labour upon a social foundation."

A. E. J.

The receipt of this copy of our journal is an invitation to subscribe.

THE PROSTITUTE PRESS.

"CAPITALISM has produced many vile institutions, but none more corrupt and degraded than the capitalist Press, by which the workers are systematically hoodwinked and led astray."

Whenever a section of the workers are goaded by the horrible conditions of their existence, into striking, the cheap and nasty Press lets itself go and pours out a perfect deluge of lies. If the men come out in accordance with the wishes of their trade union officials we are told that they have been led astray by demagogues and agitators; if they strike against the wishes of their officials they are denounced for having thrown over their "responsible leaders"!

For example, on the occasion of the strike movement in South Africa last year, when nine of the strike leaders were deported without trial, that organ of light and truth, the "Morning Post," presented us with the following gems of editorial wisdom:

First editorial.

"Supposing that Ulster were pacified as Warsaw was pacified on a famous occasion, a legacy of hatred and resentment would be left behind that would sooner or later bring to ruin the new system of government. Force, the Liberals have always told us, is no remedy. Certainly, the attempt to apply it to Ulster will lead to utter and perhaps irretrievable disaster."

Second editorial.

"The Union Government seem to have broken the back of the general strike in South Africa."

Now, these are strong measures, but it is sometimes necessary to be cruel in order to be kind. General Botha was faced by the danger of a most dangerous and calamitous anarchy and he treated the case with the decision and energy of a soldier and a man of courage and character."

As the showman says: "You pays yer money and you takes yer chance."

But not only does the Press drag the workers' minds in the interest of the masters; it also assists them to poison their bodies by bombing adulterated and unwholesome products. Who does not remember the "Standard Bread" craze that was so assiduously boomed by a section of the Press some time ago? One might have thought that the sole concern of these newspapers was for the purity and wholesomeness of the people's bread, instead of which all the wheat sweepings which had been lying in the warehouses for years, and which are generally used for feeding cattle and pigs, were suddenly taken away—one can guess where they went to."

We Socialists have always contended that lying is the common character of the capitalist Press, and is not confined to the German section of it; and our attitude is justified by our opponents. Even Lord Salisbury, in a letter to the "Times" says:

"The Press Bureau consistently slurs over bad news and exaggerates good news. The Press lays every emphasis by poster, headline, and paragraph on that side of the war which is flattering to our pride. It keeps further in the background the news which is disagreeable to us, and the result is that our sense of proportion is being destroyed and that perspective is ceasing to exist. I could multiply instances of what I mean. Frequently, lately, we have seen the roll of casualties of some battles in Flanders amounting to two hundred, three hundred, four hundred men, or even to half a battalion. These casualties took place in February, January, or December, but who can recollect that at the time we received any impression of such loss by the news published? The fact is that these casualties have usually occurred when we have lost a trench or a line of trenches, and the men holding them have been killed or made prisoners. A day or two after this had happened we were probably told that a trench which had been lost had been brilliantly recaptured, but we had never been previously told that we had lost the trench, and we were never told at the time what the loss of the trench or its recapture had cost us."

Here we have an admission by a leading light of the capitalist class that the people are deliberately being gulled by their penny and half-penny oracles."

When capitalist society is a thing of the past the Press will be run by the people themselves for its true purpose, viz., for the dissemination of news, and only then will it be free from the hypocrisy, lying, and cant that characterise it to day, because then there will be no capitalist interests to bolster up and no subject class to be kept in mental darkness."

H. T. EDWARDS.

THE GOOD TIME THAT IS COMING.

TO-DAY we are being told that this is the last war—the war that is to end war. The world that emerges from this inferno, we are given to understand, will never be as in the past. We are wading through a sea of blood, but it is to a New Jerusalem, and a system where antagonisms between nations and classes will have disappeared and rivalry in armaments will have gone for ever. There is to be an enduring peace, in which the legitimate purpose of our lives—"production, and buying and selling"—will go on uninterruptedly—especially the buying and selling of the workers. So say all the capitalist hacks, political, religious, and philosophical."

The war that will end war is the capitalist excuse for war—for what even they are ashamed of. Because they are ashamed the rulers of each country endeavour to fix the blame upon their opponents. So long have they preached the blessings of peace and commended themselves for its lengthy duration (as if anybody but they desired to break it), that no words are strong enough to describe their provocation. "The rights of small nationalities"; "Scraps of paper," and outrages—without which no war has ever yet been prosecuted—are daily recited with melancholy repetition in the capitalist Press, that they may sink into the minds of the workers, become part of their thoughts and loom large in their conversation, and appear to them as reality—as substance, instead of shadow—as something that matters to them."

In order that the flow of recruits may continue, unstinted praise is lavished on those who have joined. They are all good fellows and the brainiest of fighters now, though but a few short months ago many of them were "just poor creatures without initiative or ability." But the ruling class wants them to-day because they are strong and can be trained to fight."

So, in the columns of the Press, they fall upon their necks, woo them with colour posters, and whisper to them of "our" common nationality. We are all brothers to-day, they plead; one nation, one class, one interest, and one purpose. What grandeur there is in the thought that all our differences have been swept away and we are absolutely united against our common foe! Never can there be a relapse. When, in the future, differences arise and class antagonisms—but there, that is unthinkable—are we not one!"

How beautiful they all read—the fairy promises of those who need your help! The gaudy futurist pictures of those who are stricken with the deadly fear that they may lose some of their wealth, or that their power to exploit you may be curtailed or purloined by the capitalists of another nationality. They may well commend you for your patriotism, for it is *their* country you are fighting to preserve to them—their country, and they hold the bonds, the scrip and the gilt-edged securities."

Would you have *your* country, they plead, ravaged by the foreign invader as France and Belgium have been ravaged? Will you submit to slavery, outrage, and murder at the hands of the Germans, or will you bring your "strong right arm" to bear against our common enemy and preserve unsullied our glorious nationality from the deadly peril of German Militarism?"

These are words on their lips; but business is in their minds, though they dare not speak the whole truth. If they did they would say: We are at war with the capitalists of Germany for markets, in order that we may increase our trade and profits. Our share in the earth is at stake; our land, mines, railways, and factories may be lost to us, or tribute may be levied upon them by the invader, as has been done in the case of the property of the Belgian capitalists. Keep the German out, or you will be his slaves instead of ours."

According to Sir Edward Grey and Mr. Harcourt, "forced labour for private profit amounts to slavery." This definition exactly describes the condition of the working class in every capitalist country, England included. For every worker being divorced from the means of life is forced to labour for the profit of some capitalist or capitalists."

So the workers in all capitalist lands were slaves before the war. How, then, can they be made slaves by the Germans? But their slavery can be intensified, it may be retorted. True, but not necessarily by reason of a change of masters. Conditions for the workers must intensify as a result of capitalist development, by the simple process of replacing men with machinery, and with women and children, thereby increasing the unemployed and furnishing the capitalists with the necessary power to reduce and to speed up their workers."

The economic whip, the spur of the "sack," is far more effective as a slave-tickler than was ever the lash of the ancient slave-driver. The capitalist has the experience of history behind him; he goes by results, and knows that the wage slave, driven by the fear of hunger, is more effectively under his control, more amenable to discipline, and has less independence and spirit, than chattel slaves and serfs. Docility and efficiency are the attributes of the slave, and the wage-slave possesses these in a fuller measure than slaves have ever possessed them all down the steps of time."

When society has once passed out of the stage of chattel-slavery, there can be no general return to it. Those trifling exceptions affecting comparatively small numbers in different parts of the world—such as peonage, indentured labour, and the forced labour of the Belgians who receive rations for work performed—these forms only go to show the similarity of conditions for those subjugated—a mere subsistence, under any form of slavery, including capitalism. It is impossible for the workers to be inflicted with something they already suffer. But can the war remove the infliction?"

One writer of some standing says: "Whatever the result, the world that will emerge when the deluge of blood has subsided will be a world that will be new and strange." But those who understand the system, who analysed it before the war and have seen the anarchy and greed of the capitalists, even while they were calling upon the workers to make sacrifices for them and their country—those who understand the nature of capitalism, expect no fundamental changes."

There will be, no doubt, delirious and fanatical expressions of joy, with, perhaps, a universal holiday—as when a king is crowned—on the proclamation of peace. But capitalism, with all its horrors, will remain to us. Miners will go down to their death in mines known to be dangerous; workers in every town, sunk in poverty, will continue to breed consumption in reeking slums. The unclass-conscious workers will still be goaded by the wretchedness of their conditions to strike, and they will suffer all the penalties of daring to dispute with their masters. The confusionist will still be engaged poisoning the minds of the workers with every kind of superstition that can possibly keep them in ignorance and subjection. The outlook of the worker cannot change as the result of war; while the philosophy of the capitalist—which begins and ends with profits—will remain the same in all the countries concerned. The workers of no country need fear to have slavery imposed upon them, for there is no form of slavery, tried or untried, that can mean deeper poverty, toil, and degradation for them."

The "better time that is coming" can only be the result of the workers' own efforts, after they have fought the class war to a finish. For this is the only war that concerns the working class—that can open up a new world for them. We, who understand this, continue the struggle even in the midst of national strife, because the quarrels of the capitalist rulers of the different countries—no matter how many millions of workers are involved—are as dust in the balance compared with the quarrel we have with the ruling class. We therefore call upon the workers of all lands to make an effort to understand Socialism, that they may be fully equipped for the last war—and their emancipation."

F. F.

THE SO-CALLED PRIMITIVE ACCUMULATION.

EXPROPRIATION OF THE AGRICULTURAL POPULATION FROM THE LAND.

‡The proletariat created by the breaking up of the bonds of feudal restraints and by the

forcible expropriation of the people from the soil, this "free" proletariat could not possibly be absorbed by the nascent manufactures as fast as it was thrown upon the world. On the other hand, these men, suddenly dragged from their wonted mode of life, could not as suddenly adapt themselves to the discipline of their new condition. They were turned *en masse* into beggars, robbers, vagabonds, partly from inclination, in most cases from stress of circumstances. Hence at the end of the 15th and during the whole of the 16th century, throughout Western Europe a bloody legislation against vagabondage. The fathers of the present working class were chastised for their enforced transformation into vagabonds and paupers. Legislation treated them as "voluntary" criminals, and assumed that it depended on their own goodwill to go on working under the old conditions that no longer existed.

In England this legislation began under Henry VII.

Henry VIII. 1530: Beggars old and unable to work receive a beggar's licence. On the other hand, whipping and imprisonment for sturdy vagabonds. They are to be tied to the carttail and whipped until the blood streams from their bodies, then to swear an oath to go back to their birthplace or to where they have lived, the last three years and to "put themselves to labour." What grim irony! In 27 Henry VIII. the former statute is repeated, but strengthened with new clauses. For the second arrest for vagabondage the whipping is to be repeated and half the ear sliced off; but for the third relapse the offender is to be executed as a hardened criminal and enemy of the common weal.

Edward VI.: A statute of the first year of his reign, 1547, ordains that if anyone refuses to work, he shall be condemned as a slave to the person who has denounced him as an idler. The master shall feed his slave on bread and water, weak broth and such refuse meat as he thinks fit. He has the right to force him to do any work, no matter how disgusting, with whip and chains. If the slave is absent a fortnight, he is condemned to slavery for life and is to be branded on forehead or back with the letter S; if he runs away thrice, he is to be executed as a felon. The master can sell him, bequeath him, let him out on hire as a slave, just as any other personal chattel or cattle. If the slaves attempt anything against the masters, they are also to be executed. Justices of the peace, on information, are to hunt the rascals down. If it happens that a vagabond has been idling about for three days, he is to be taken to his birthplace, branded with a red-hot iron with the letter V on the breast and be set to work, in chains, in the streets or at some other labour. If the vagabond gives a false birthplace, he is then to become the slave for life of this place, of its inhabitants, or its corporation, and to be branded with an S. All persons have the right to take away the children of the vagabonds and to keep them as apprentices, the young men until the 24th year, the girls until the 20th. If they run away, they are to become up to this age the slaves of their masters, who can put them in irons, whip them, &c., if they like. Every master may put an iron ring round the neck, arms or legs of his slave, by which to know him more easily and to be more certain of him. The last part of this statute provides, that certain poor people may be employed by a place or by persons, who are willing to give them food and drink and to find them work. This kind of parish-slaves was kept up in England until far into the 19th century under the name of "roundsmen."

Elizabeth, 1572: Unlicensed beggars above 14 years of age are to be severely flogged and branded on the left ear unless some one will take them into service for two years; in case of a repetition of the offence, if they are over 18, they are to be executed, unless some one will take them into service for two years; but for the third offence they are to be executed without mercy as felons. Similar statutes: 18 Elizabeth, c. 13, and another of 1597.

James I.: Any one wandering about and begging is declared a rogue and a vagabond. Justices of the peace in petty sessions are authorised to have them publicly whipped and for the first offence to imprison them for 6 months, for the second for 2 years. Whilst in prison they are to be whipped as much and as

often as the justices of the peace think fit. Incorrigible and dangerous rogues are to be branded with an R on the left shoulder and set to hard labour, and if they are caught begging again, to be executed without mercy. These statutes, legally binding until the beginning of the 18th century, were only repealed by 12 Ann, c. 23.

Similar laws in France, where by the middle of the 17th century a kingdom of vagabonds (truands) was established in Paris. Even at the beginning of Louis XVI's reign (Ordinance of July 13th, 1777) every man in good health from 16 to 60 years of age, if without visible means of subsistence and not practising a trade, is to be sent to the galleys. Of the same nature are the statute of Charles V. for the Netherlands (October, 1537), the first edict of the States and Towns of Holland (March 10, 1614), the "Plakaat" of the United Provinces (June 28, 1649), &c.

Thus were the agricultural people, first forcibly expropriated from the soil, driven from their homes, turned into vagabonds, and then whipped, branded, tortured by laws grotesquely terrible, into the discipline necessary for the wage system.

(To be Continued.)

GRIST FOR THE MILL.

Speaking in Wales on the 29th Sept. last at a national Welsh conference for the purpose of assisting in the formation of a Welsh army corps, Mr. Lloyd George, known to fame as the "Welsh Christ," set forth, in his usual cold-blooded, calculating manner, the ideal method to pursue in order to obtain as many poor simple-minded targets for bullets as possible. This capitalist hack might have been expected to play upon the emotions of young men in the most efficacious manner. He said:

"After all conviction is essential to confidence and confidence is nine parts of courage. And if we want valiant troops we must have men rallying to the flag imbued with the idea that they are going forth in a holy war to do battle for justice and right. They have to face wounds, dismay, death. More, they have got to face something which wears down the nerves and endurance of troops in war—they have the wet, cold nights in the trenches, day after day, night after night, and their courage must be sustained by a sense that they are fighting in a righteous cause. You must not have them asking at any stage, 'What on earth am I enduring all this for?' (God forbid!) or, 'Why on earth should I stand it any longer?' When we enlist our men we must enlist them as a result of a campaign that puts conviction, first of all, into the heart of every soldier. This is most important. We have, first of all, got to rouse in them a sense of wrath against the injustice which has been inflicted by our foes in this war, and afterwards you will have to convert anger into action in every young man's breast."

(*Manchester Guardian*, 30.9.14.)

There you have, out and dried, the plan of action to be taken by the masters. That this plan has been carried out since the commencement of the war by the papers, the posters, and public bodies generally, is known to everyone who has eyes to see. Is it any wonder that Lloyd George has risen (or descended) from an unknown Welsh lawyer to a Cabinet Minister? Such an unscrupulous and wily individual is a priceless treasure to the cut-throats who rule us.

He further says:

"For this purpose (an effective army) you want to secure the best young men of the nation, the cream of the nation, the steady, sober-minded, intelligent young men. It takes less time to convert an intelligent youth into a soldier than a man of less acute intellect."

(*Manchester Guardian*, 30.9.14.)

Then, no doubt, when the cream of the nation have gone, the future generation are to be bred from the narrow-shouldered, knock-kneed cripples that remain. Of course, there is one good side to it: a number of the workers are got out of the way to make room for the cheaper woman and child labour. Under the fervour of patriotism that has been inspired the introduction of

women can be more easily effected.

To wind up we may quote the following:

"The vast majority return from a war to tell the tale (battalions wiped out by the bursting of a single shell!) and they will have accumulated experiences which will illumine their lives for ever after. Most people's lives are dull, grey, and monotonous, and these men will come back (?) with a fund of recollection to draw upon which should cheer and brighten their lives at the dreariest moment. I am glad that the War Office are recognising the value of this national sentiment as a military asset."

(*Manchester Guardian*, 30.9.14.)

What hypocritical humbug! After reading the above (which was culled from an old newspaper) a vision was called up in the mind of the present writer of an incident that occurred to him while travelling by train recently. At one of the stations a soldier, just back from the trenches, and his mother entered the carriage. The soldier, who was in a rather excited condition, recounted some of his experiences at the Front; the awful carnage, and the hunger and thirst they had suffered. He said they had lain in the trenches in filth for weeks without washing, starving, and drinking mud water, and when the latter failed, even their own urine to slake the awful thirst. He saw no hope of going through the war alive, and expected to be sent back to receive a bullet. His sleeping and waking dreams were of fighting and bloodshed; of seeing his mates' heads and bodies shattered, and trenches falling in smothering numbers of them. This man was, in fact, an instance of the soldier returned from war, a mental wreck as the result of the awful experiences he had gone through. And these are the experiences that the slimy Welshman depicts as "experiences that will illumine their lives for ever after"!!!

Words fail to convey the feeling of repugnance and nausea roused when one contemplates the mental attitude of this brutal and cold-blooded advocate of the master class, who defends the capitalists' rapacity with fine words, and attaches the glamour of religion to all their profit-seeking actions.

A "comrade," writing in "Justice" for Feb. 11th, 1915, says:

"Really, we Socialists have our time coming; our elementary principles have proved safe anchorage for the State lately, and with a fast accumulating hatred of War and militarism (!) that is surely taking place, the moment when our blow will be struck is nearer than many have appreciated."

Comment is surely needless! Still, it might be added that the "comrade" who holds the above views no doubt assists in the recruiting campaign as much as possible, so that when the time comes to strike—there will not be any working-men left to do the striking!

The shortness of working men's memories is proverbial. In spite of the bitter and strenuous enmity the masters always exhibit on the industrial field, the workers are ever ready to abandon the ground of the class struggle in order to help certain groups of capitalists to gain larger shares of the spoil (squeezed out of workers) than other groups. The workers on the Clyde struck the other day for an increase in wages to meet the rise in the cost of living. Along came the slimy minions of the master class and pointed out the harm that would be caused to the nation at this particular moment if they remained on strike. So back to work went the engineers like a lot of sheep.

When will the lessons of history be taken to heart? Forgotten are the struggles against the rapacity of the masters, the lives of poverty, the sight of wives and children dying of want, and all the other evils that are the necessary accompaniments of working-class "life" under capitalism; forgotten is all this when the masters wave a blood-stained banner and cry "For Life, for Law, for Liberty." Thousands of workers were mown down by the governing class after the French Revolution. Thousands of workers were wiped out after the Franco-Prussian War by the ruling class. Thousands of British

workers died of starvation and disease after the Boer War, both in England and South Africa. Every day, all the world over, hundreds of thousands of workers die through the greed and brutality of the master class and its minions, and yet, in spite of all this, we read in the daily papers (5.3.15) the following: "Early yesterday morning the coalheavers at a meeting of 2,000 strikers decided to return to work, postponing further efforts to regain their 'subbing' privileges until a more opportune time."

A more opportune time! When will that be? When the masters will be free to employ the whole unfettered force of the army to drive the workers back to work as they did in the recent Dock Strike, and at Manchester, Belfast, Dublin, Featherstone, Hull, etc.? "England's extremity is Ireland's opportunity," was the slogan of the early Home Rulers. And surely the only sensible maxim for workers, until they gain control of political power, is obviously: "The masters' extremity is the workers' opportunity."

"It seems very clear," says the "Labour Leader" for February 11th, 1915, "that after the War the issue between Socialism and capitalism will be far more distinct than ever before." We are gratified to confess that, for once, we are somewhat in agreement with our learned contemporary, because, if the enlisting of the middle-headed people of the I.L.P. and B.S.P. type continues at the present rate, owing to their anxiety to juggle with bullets and mud at the Front, the political air will certainly be cleared of a considerable amount of confusion.

The War offers splendid chances to the masters for purposes of increasing the efficiency of machinery and diminishing expenses all round for future as well as present benefit, without arousing unpleasant opposition from the workers. Everywhere the signs portend the advantage that is being taken of present circumstances. Speaking in Parliament the other day, Mr. Tennant, Under Secretary for War, exuded the following:

"If I may address myself to the Labour Party, I would appeal to them to help us to organize the forces of Labour. I would ask them to help us so that where a man purposes to join the colours his place may be taken by another man neither of military age, nor military physique, or by a woman."

"Would it not be possible for the hon. gentlemen who represent labour to get such a Union as the Shop Assistants' Union to help us, in a trade where particularly women's work seems to be more desirable than men's, to say that all male labour, certainly all male workers of the age and physique required for the army should be dispensed with [nicer phrase than sacked! and, by the way, remember Englishmen in this "free" country join the army of their own free will!] and should be replaced by women's labour? I don't say that this is a possible thing to do; I only throw out the suggestion tentatively."—(*Reynolds*, 14.2.15.)

What delightful simplicity there is in the last sentence. Hodge, that good, old ton of soil, was so annoyed at the imputations on the support given by Trade Unionists, that he indignantly flamed out: "There is not a body of men in the country who have been more patriotic than Trade Unionists."

My word! O thou good and faithful servant (of the master class).

How valuable are the Labour leaders to the masters! We have often been accused of adopting an uncharitable attitude to those who were struggling to educate the workers little by little and bit by bit, but he who brings this accusation against us again, after the showing up the labour men have had during this war, will indeed have his tongue in his cheek. The great incorruptible (!) Ben Tillett, known to fame by his celebrated and spectacular curse on the head of a certain member of the capitalist class (to whom he afterwards betrayed the dock labourers, in spite of their truly grand struggle against starvation) is reported by the Press to have sent a letter from a bed of sickness urging dockers

to assist recruiting, in the interests of the master class (Lord Devonport and his gang). Mr. Gosling has lately earned the eulogies of Mr. Asquith (of Featherstone fame) for his activities. Says Mr. Asquith:

"The position in London is very much improved. The men have been making good time. The efforts made by Mr. Gosling are of very great service, and the London problem is not nearly so serious."—(*Manchester Guardian*, 12.2.15.)

And now, fellow workers, throwing all jokes aside, when are you going to stop the rot? When are you going to wake up and think? Remember, the day the labouring mass shakes itself into activity the capitalist world will totter to ruin.

GH. MAC.

FACTS AND PROMISES.

—:—:—

The great slaughter still rages! Carriage and desolation follow in the wake of the contending armies. The spirit of murder animates the ruling class! Like all other wars, this war is economic in its origin. Like all other wars, it is being waged in the interests of the master class. Like all other wars, it is fought mainly by the working class. Roughly there are about 20,000,000 workers engaged in the senseless and brutal task of destroying each other. When this frightful carnage is ended to the satisfaction of our masters, what benefit will accrue to those workers who are shedding their blood? Almost every available means has been used by the ruling class and their hirelings to lure the working man into the vortex of war. From the campaign in the Press, down to the wholesale "sacking" of employees of military age. Into all trades and callings have the Army officials forced their way; the latest phase of their recruiting campaign being that of urging the Grocers' Federation of Great Britain to dispense with all their available men to become "cannon fodder," and engage women for the work in the shops. At the same time they urged employers to assist members of their staffs who, by enlisting will make "considerable financial sacrifice." Appropos of which we cull the following from a letter in the "Daily Chronicle" (25.3.15):

"Sir,—I am an old soldier, and served my country for two years in Africa. I am married and have a family of 7 children. On the outbreak of the War I rejoined the colours. My employers posted handbills all over the place offering 10s. a week to all married men who enlisted, and free house and coal, and our jobs back when we came home. But what happened after they found our fleet was too strong for the Germans and that Kitchener was going to get all the men he wanted or could equip, and that they were in no danger of losing their work? They suddenly stopped paying the 10s. a week; a little later they stopped the coals, and now they say soldiers' wives will have to pay house rent, and we are not in a position to guarantee you your employment on your return."

And yet the British capitalist class through their Government entered this conflict on the pretext that Germany had refused to recognise the "scrap of paper" guaranteeing Belgian neutrality. This conduct is typical of the attitude of the master class toward those whom they trap into fighting their battles for them.

Some of those now doing the vile work of their paymasters on the Continent will return some day to the same conditions of slavery in factory bells and mines for just a subsistence wage, lucky indeed if they get that. The great eat of all wars will still continue, and maybe some of those now "somewhere in France" will then be engaged in a strike or lockout against the masters, probably to be shot down by their military comrades in the struggle for a miserable subsistence. This, then, will be the return for all the arduous toil and suffering of the trenches.

We urge the workers of all countries to organize as a class to gain control of the political machinery in order to establish the Socialist Commonwealth, whence shall arise happiness, comfort, and luxury for all. Speed the day!

C. ARCT.

PROVINCIAL PONDERINGS.

—:—:—

COMING EVENTS.

According to the leading article in the "Birmingham Daily Mail" of March 24th last, the end of the war "will throw hundreds of thousands of men back on to the labour market to compete with those now at home for the declining employment." There who, in the days of their present prosperity (!), put something by to meet the bad days that will surely come, may have cause to go down on their knees and thank God for giving them the foresight and the prudence but for which they might see their homes go under and their children wanting for bread.

He had come with the authority of Lord Kitchener to tell them that the Government wanted more men, and amongst other places they wanted them from the grocers' shops. . . . In London they were organising classes to teach women how to do the grocery trade.

In all branches of industry the men enlisted have been promised that their jobs will be kept open for them, and yet there is the significant admission in the leading article of this powerful provincial journal—an admission, let it be marked, which is constantly appearing in some form or other in almost every newspaper throughout the country—that, instead of there being less unemployment, there will be severer competition than ever for employment after the war. This, taken in conjunction with the fact that women and girls are being employed in vastly increasing numbers to perform work formerly performed by men, foreshadows not only an undimmed worsening of working class conditions, but also a depreciation of the workers' commodity, labour power, by the introduction of lower strata of wage-labour, which bids fair to become historic.

INTERESTING!

"It was a vicious argument that because the cost of living had increased wages must be advanced. If the people found the cost of living increasing they must economise. About the last thing in the world the working class would try to do was to economise."—Sec. Grocers' Federation.

MORE SO.

"My income is two thousand a year. It is inadequate."—Lieut. Lowther in the Court.

E. J.

—:—:—

PRESS PATRIOTISM.

The "Manchester Guardian," alluding in 1911 to the "settlement" of the railway strike, said:

"The danger is, perhaps, that they [i.e. the workers] should expect too much, and that the excitement of partial success should defeat it. . . . This is of all countries the land of the most acute contrasts between wealth and poverty, not because poverty is absolute & greater here than on the Continent, but because wealth is greater while certain forms of poverty are more massed and more hopeless. Apart from humane feeling, might it not be, IF WE UNDERSTOOD PATRIOTISM ARIGHT, a legitimate concern of our national pride to wipe out this reproach upon the name of England?" (Emphatic mine.)

The powerful newspaper from which the above was extracted, in its issues of March 23 and 29, 1915, hinted—nay, more than hinted—suggested—that the Government should act as strike breaker in the following words:

"If the dockers at Liverpool or elsewhere will not do their work the community ought to bring substitutes from some other quarter or themselves do it by voluntary organisation. The community would, of course, afford complete protection to those who undertook the task." (29.3.15.)

Perhaps the "Guardian" writers do not understand patriotism aright; since they adopt to-day the attitude of "my country right or wrong must be seen through its wars and other amusements, even at the cost of Great Britain continuing to be the place where poverty is more massed and more hopeless than on the Continent."

J. B.

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- "Freedom" (London).
- "Cotton's Weekly" (Canada).
- "Appeal to Reason" (Kansas).
- "International News Letter" (Berlin).
- "The Western Clarion" (Vancouver).
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THE SOCIALIST PARTY of Great Britain

HOLDS—

That society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master class, and the consequent enslavement of the working class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.

That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce and those who produce but do not possess.

That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

That as in the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind, without distinction of race or sex.

That this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.

That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working-class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.

That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

The Socialist Party of Great Britain, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

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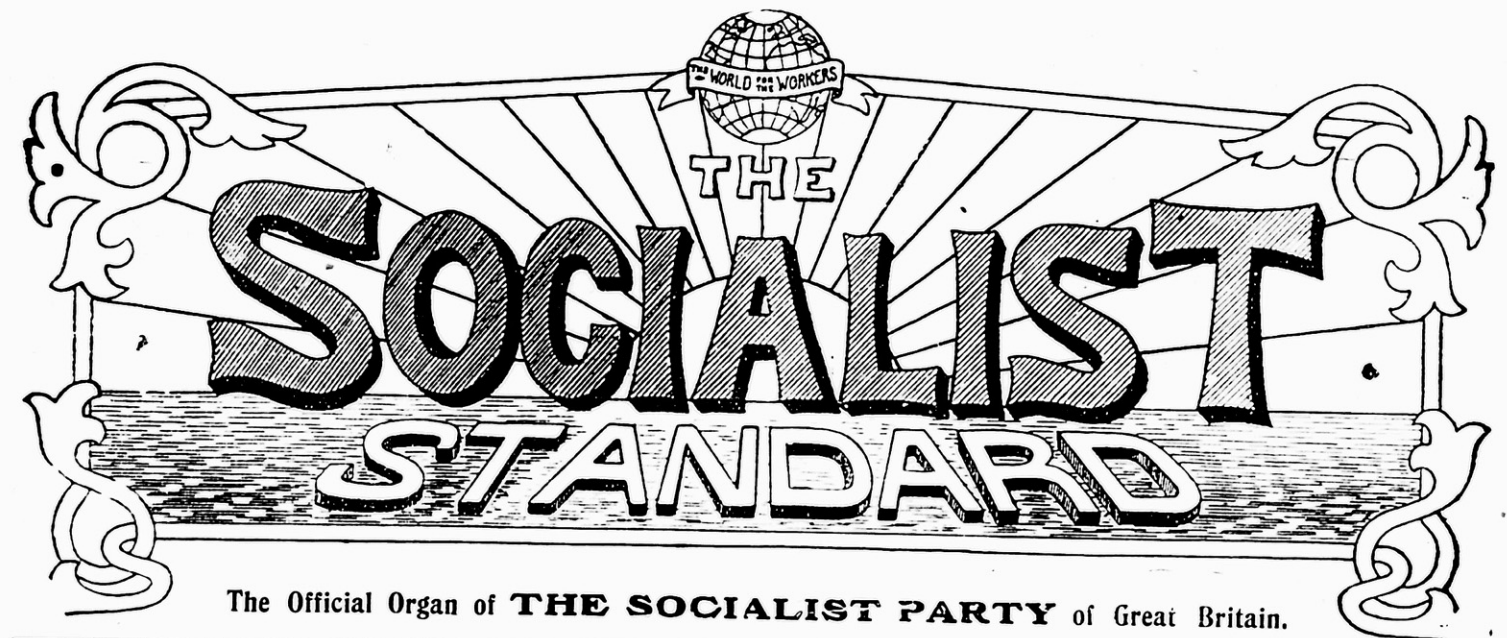
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[MONTHLY, ONE PENNY.]

DRINKING AND SHIRKING.

CAPITLIST politicians of the Lloyd-Georgian type, that is to say, Liberal adventurers who have wriggled up out of the gutter by showing themselves the obsequious hacks of the capitalist class at large and of the manufacturing element of that class in particular, cannot get along very far, it seems, without heaping insults upon the heads of the working class. It is quite easy to understand why this is. It is the rich manufacturers, ship-owners, mine-owners, and the like who provide the party funds without which the Liberal party could not hold its own, and its purely professional and mercenary politicians would lose their incomes. As we are constantly stating, between the master class and the working class there is a conflict of interests. In the struggle generated of this clash of interests the hiring capitalist politician necessarily sides with his paymasters, and his assistance takes the form of filthy insult as often as not.

The particular form of abuse which is the rage and fashion at the moment is that of accusing the members of the working class of

DRINKING AND SHIRKING.

There is, of course, nothing new about the charge. It was worn threadbare long even before Mr. Philip Snowden (who waxes indignant now that Mr. Lloyd George agrees with him) referred to the "drink-sodden democracy." But the insulting charges are given a peculiar emphasis and a particularly sinister aspect just now. It is pretended that the workers are not only shirking their work, but are shirking a patriotic duty; and it is declared that the man who drinks in England is murdering the men in the trenches.

These are nice charges to be formulated by the agents of the class who have launched this wholesale butchery: and who are not satisfied with the output of material and instruments for

MURDERING THE MEN IN THE TRENCHES.

It is easy to see through this campaign of calumny. The men in the trenches are being butchered. It is necessary to hide from them certain contributing factors. It is necessary to hide from them the fact that military experts, whose business it was to understand war, failed utterly to grasp the power, scope and requirements of the awful instruments of slaughter placed in their hands; it is necessary to hide from them the fact that, with the full knowledge of impending war, the Government dared not ask their parsimonious masters to face the cost of adequate preparation; it is necessary to hide from them the fact that the strikes among the producers of munitions and shipping are due to the same old cause as in the piping times of peace—

THE GREED OF THE MASTERS.

and simply reflect the plain truth that no "call of patriotism," no "necessity of their country," and no consideration for the men in the trenches will ever induce the masters to loosen ever so little their grip upon their profits.

If "drink" is hampering British military operations why don't the capitalist class cease its manufacture? If the workers are not turning out sufficient munitions and fetching and carrying with the strenuousness demanded by the dire straits of their masters' country, why don't the wealthy mumpers who are so fond of preaching of "patriotic duty" take a hand? When the workers leave off they leave the job open! Strange, isn't it, that though many among the master class are ready to forswear intoxicants in the

PRIVACY OF THEIR WINE CELLARS.

as an example to the workers, few attempt to come out into the light of day and show the workers how to WORK!

The Bishop of London says that he is ready to break stones if necessary, but he takes good care not to go down to the docks and handle pork. Of course it isn't necessary! It never is necessary for anybody to work but the working class, and they, as we all know, don't and won't.

The fact is that the present situation is proving the truth of what we have always contended—that in normal times the workers are speeded up to the point of exhaustion. The attempt to speed them up still more has not, therefore, met with the success hoped for by those who thought they saw in the war an opportunity to squeeze greater profits out of their slaves. It would never do for the masters to admit that their victims have in normal times no margin of energy left them which can be exploited under patriotic fervour, hence those who have supplied from their ranks two million men for the new army, and fully equipped them in eight months, besides carrying on the nation's work and maintaining an army in the field are, according to the sober and industrious parasite class, drinking and shirking.

IDEALISM AND MATERIALISM IN THE CONCEPTION OF HISTORY.

By PAUL LEFARGUE.

The following extract is taken from a lecture delivered by Paul Lefargue, under the auspices of the Group of Collectivist Students of Paris, this lecture being a reply to one given by Jean Jaurès on the above-named subject. The terms Idealism and Materialism are used here to designate the "two opposite views regarding the nature of human thought, that is to say, concerning the ultimate sources of intellectual cognition, concerning the origin of ideas," the former designating "the doctrine of innate ideas, of ideas *a priori*," and the latter "the doctrine of cognition through experience, through the senses, the doctrine of ideas *a posteriori*." (Heine).

Man and the animals think only because they have a brain; the brain transforms sensations into ideas as dynamos convert into electricity the movement supplied to them. It is nature, or rather, the natural environment—not to use an expression that would idealise Nature as a metaphysical entity, as did the philosophers of the 18th century,—it is the natural environment that forms the brain and the other organs. I say intentionally the other organs because, just as the spiritualists separate man from the animal group in order to set him up as a miraculous being, for whom God comes on earth to be crucified, in the same way the idealists isolate the brain from the other organs in order to subject its function, that is to say thought, to magical causes.

The natural environment that created the organs and the brain of man has brought them to such a degree of perfection that they are capable of the most marvellous adaptations. Thus, for centuries Christians and civilised man carried off negroes from the coast of Africa to sell them as slaves in the colonies. These blacks were barbarians and savages, separated from civilised man by thousands of years of culture, and yet, at the end of an extremely short time they learnt the trades of civilisation.

In Paraguay the Jesuits had a social experience—the most remarkable known to me—which for us Socialists, is of first rate importance, because it shows with what extraordinary rapidity a nation is transformed after being transplanted in a new social environment. The Jesuits, those incomparable educators, those learned exploiters of labour, formed with savages a civilised people of more than 150,000 individuals.

The Guarany whom they sequestered in the *pueblos* of Paraguay had wandered naked in the forests, their only arms, the bow and wooden club. Their knowledge of agriculture being merely rudimentary, they cultivated only maize. So little developed was their intelligence that they could only count up to twenty, and still were obliged to count on their fingers. One finger was one, two fingers were two, one hand was five, one hand and a finger of the other hand were six, two hands were ten, two hands and a toe were eleven, two hands and a foot were fifteen, two hands and two feet were twenty; anything more was a great deal. It is always by using their fingers and their toes that the lowest savages count. Thus the figure, the most abstract idea that exists in the mind of the civilised, was at first, in the mind of the savage, the reflex of a material object. When we say or think 1, 2, 5, 10, we see no object at all; the savage sees a finger, two fingers, a hand, two hands. So true is this that the Roman figures, used by civilised peoples for so long, before the introduction of the Arabian figures, were shaped after the hand; I is one finger, II are two fingers, V are a hand, of which the three middle fingers are lowered while the thumb and the little finger are held up; X are two Vs or two hands reversed.

Of these Paraguayan savages the Jesuits made clever workmen, capable of executing the most difficult tasks. This is what Charlevoix says of them:

"The Indians of the Missions possess in the highest degree the faculty of imitation. It is enough, for example, to show them a cross, a candlestick, a censer, for them to reproduce them, and it puzzles one to distinguish their work from the model. They make their musical

It is more than probable that the little children of the civilised, as well as savages, still picture to themselves material objects when reckoning up numbers.

instruments, most complicated organs, at a single inspection,—as well as astronomical spheres, Turkey carpets, and the most difficult things in manufacture."

The naturalist, d'Orbigny, who in 1832 visited the *pueblos* of Paraguay, disorganised and ruined after the expulsion of the Jesuits, marvelled at the churches that these savages had constructed and decorated with paintings and sculptures "in the style of the Middle Ages."

Now, these trades and these arts, as well as the ideas corresponding to them, were not innate in the hand and the head of the savage Guarany; they had been put in so to speak, as an air of Verdi is put into a barrel organ. It is through the education that the Jesuits gave them that they acquired these diverse trades and diverse thoughts. Here we see a case of direct action of man on man. But are there not other means by which the organs and the brain of man may be perfected? Do not the phenomena of the natural and of the social environment, does not experience develop the technical capacity of his organs and modify his thoughts?

The idea of Justice which, according to Jaurès, lies dormant in the mind of the savage, did not creep into the human brain until after the institution of private property.

Savages have no idea at all of Justice; they even have no word to designate such an idea. At the most are they acquainted with the *lex talionis*, the blow for a blow, the eye for an eye, which after all is merely another form of the reflex movement that makes the eyelid blink when an object threatens the eye, or a limb become slack when it is struck. Amongst barbarians even, living in well-developed, but communist social environments, where in consequence private property has hardly had a beginning, the idea of Justice is very vague. In this connection I will quote you Sumner Maine's opinion, the high philosophic value of which will not be disputed by Jaurès.

"Nor, in the sense of the analytical jurists," says Maine, "is there right or duty in an Indian village-community; a person aggrieved complains not of an individual wrong but of the disturbance of the order of the entire little society. More than all, customary law is not enforced by a sanction. In the almost inconceivable case of disobedience to the award of the village council, the sole punishment, or the sole certain punishment, would appear to be universal disapprobation."

Locke, who, like the philosophers of the 17th and 18th centuries, used the deductive method employed in geometry, came to think that private property engendered the idea of justice. In his "Human Understanding" he expressly says that "Where there is no property there is no injustice, is a proposition as certain as any demonstration in Euclid: for the idea of property being a right to anything, and the idea to which the name injustice is given being the invasion or violation of that right."

If the idea of Justice, as Locke thought, can only appear after and as a consequence of private property, the idea of theft, or rather the tendency to take unthinkingly what one needs or desires, is on the contrary, well developed, before the institution of private property. The communist savage and barbarian behave in regard to material goods as our savants and writers do in regard to intellectual goods: whenever they find them they take them, to use Molière's expression. But this natural custom becomes theft, crime, from the time when common property is replaced by private property.

Into the head and heart of savages and barbarians common property put ideas and sentiments which bourgeois Christians, those *sad* results of private property, will find very strange.

Heckwelder, a Moravian missionary who in the 18th century lived fifteen years among North American savages, not yet corrupted by Christianity and bourgeois civilisation, said:

"The Indians believe that the Great Spirit

Xavier de Charlevoix. "Histoire du Paraguay," Paris, 1757.
H. S. Maine. "Village Communities in the East and West."
"An Essay concerning Human Understanding," Book IV. Chap. III. (Tr.)

created the world and all that it contains for the common good of men; when he stocked the earth and filled the woods with game, it was not for the advantage of some, but of all. Everything is given in common to the children of men. Everything that breathes on the earth, everything that grows in the fields, everything that lives in the rivers and waters, belongs jointly to all, and everyone has a right to his share.

"With them hospitality is not a virtue but an imperative duty. They would go to rest without eating rather than be accused of having neglected their duties by not satisfying the needs of the stranger, the invalid, the necessitous, because these have a common right to be helped from the common fund; because the game with which they are nourished, if it was taken in the forest, was the property of all before the hunter captured it; because the vegetables and the maize that are offered grew in the common land."

On his part, the Jesuit, Charlevoix, who also had lived among savages ungoverned by the virtues of Christian and property morality, says in his "Histoire de la Nouvelle France":

"The fraternal disposition of the Redskins doubtless comes in part from the fact that *mine and thine*, those icy words, as St. John Chrysostom calls them, are as yet unknown to the savages. The care that they take of orphans, widows, and the infirm, the hospitality that they practise in so admirable a manner, are but a consequence of their view that everything ought to be common for all men."

Private property, in establishing the distinction of mine and thine, not only insinuated the idea of justice into the mind of man, but slipped into his heart sentiments which have so rooted themselves there that we believe them innate, and which I should scandalize you by mentioning. However it is well established that jealousy and paternal love are unknown to man so long as he lives in a communist state. Women and men are then polygamous. The woman takes as many husbands as she pleases and the man as many wives as he can, and travellers inform us that all these good folks live content and more united than the members of the sad and egoistic monogamic family. But from the time when private property is instituted, the man buys his wife and reserves for himself alone the enjoyment of his reproductive animal: jealousy is a property sentiment transformed. Not until there is private property for him to transmit does the father think of troubling about his child.

The ideas of Justice which encumber the minds of the civilised, and which are based on mine and thine, will vanish like a bad dream when common property shall have taken the place of private property.

Jaurès has told us that the ideas of Justice and Fraternity, coming into contradiction with the social environment, produced the movement of humanity; but if that were true there would have been no historic evolution, for man never would have emerged from the primitive communist environment, in which the idea of Justice does not and cannot exist, and in which the sentiments of fraternity can manifest themselves more freely than in any other social environment whatever.

Translated by A. C. A.

THE LAND OF NOD.

"Perhaps some day somebody will give us a budget of Kitchener stories from the War Office. So far we have only had the tale of how when he went there he asked the porter, 'Have you a bed here?' 'No, was the answer. 'Then get one,' he ordered."

—("Daily Chronicle," 27.4.15.)

What did they sleep on before Kitchener went there?

STOCKPORT.

Will those sympathising with our principles living in or around Stockport communicate with TOM SALA, 48 MAYFIELD GROVE, REDDISH LANE, HORTON, from whom all particulars as to joining etc. can be obtained.

THE DIFFERENCE.

The "Daily News and Leader" (24.4.15) quotes the following from a German Conservative organ, the "Post":

"The reform of our domestic policy will mainly depend upon whether a fruitful co-operation between the Government and the non-Socialist parties, on the one hand, and the Socialists, on the other, is possible. This, in its turn, will depend upon whether Social Democracy will finally abjure the class war and its aims. The Leibniz-Ledebour group is ruled out in advance. It remains unchanged. Hence it deserves, after the war, to be treated in the same way as it was treated before—and preferably in accordance with Bismarckian methods. It is different with the majority of the Socialists, whose representatives in Parliament have voted for the war credits and the Budget. But even so, their future conduct is uncertain and one must wait and see."

"It is different with the majority of the Socialists." As we have endeavoured to show all along, the parties in this country claiming to be Socialist while not organised on the basis of the class war (the I.L.P., B.S.P., and the like), only practise fraud when they impose such a claim on the working class. The latter accept their statements too freely; they evidently think it does not matter much either way. The capitalists, however, are better instructed and know how to discriminate between the genuine and the spurious, as we see from the above. In this connection an anecdote illustrating the same point was told in "Reynolds's" of August 30th last. The Kaiser for some time before the outbreak of the war had been endeavouring to conciliate German Socialists. While travelling in Switzerland his train was conducted by a well known Socialist representative of the Cantonal Labour Party. The Emperor had a long chat with the guard. It is said that he afterwards overheard some of his entourage commenting on his having received the Socialist, and that he replied: "One must distinguish between what a man is and what he chooses to confess. My son also will come to that conclusion when he is older."

The nature of the "Socialist" organisations on the Continent is easily seen from the decisions of the "Confidential Session" of the Austrian and German "Socialists" held at Vienna in the week ending April 17th. What could be more childish, for instance, than their demand for the "transformation of the courts of international arbitration into compulsory institutions for the solution of all conflicts between the different States"? There can be no compulsion at all without either the display or the exercise of physical force, and if the capitalists of every country could trust each other sufficiently to set up such a force for the purpose of keeping the peace, they could quite conceivably employ the simpler and less expensive method of the arbitration court.

The demand of the Session for "international limitation of armaments by treaties, with general disarmament in view" is equally unattainable for similar reasons. While national groups of capitalists dictate the national policy, the nations will always be at loggerheads over markets. The friction and mistrust between these groups will not permit them to disband, the tendency being rather in the direction of greater friction as the backward nations enter into keener competition for a share in the world's market. Quarrels may possibly become less frequent with the advent and progress of a genuine Socialist party in each country. But such a party will certainly not follow the example of the International or the "Confidential Session" and make itself ridiculous by demanding disarmament. It will know why armed forces are maintained.

Furthermore, the representatives of the Social Democratic parties of Germany, Austria, and Hungary declare: The fact that the Socialist parties of the belligerent countries are defending their country and their people must not constitute an obstacle to the maintenance of international relations among the Socialist parties and the continued working of their international institutions."

It may be remarked that the caption under which this is written does not state what the nature of the working-class party is to be. It leaves it an open question whether the party or organisation is to be political or economic or both political and economic. The reason for this is quite easily explained. It is intended by the present scribe that the enquiry upon which he invites the reader to embark with him shall go back behind such questions as these, and so include them within its scope.

We start, then, only with the assumption that the workers are a class apart, that as a class they must have a class interest, and that having a class interest they must of necessity organise themselves for the furtherance of that class interest. We shall proceed with our enquiry from this basis without spending more than a little time and space in making clear how we arrive at that assumption.

In sociology a class is a division of society the conditions of living of whose members are similar in the main, but different to those of another section, or other sections. These conditions invariably and essentially have their roots in privilege on the one hand and exploitation on the other. Throughout history class division has rested upon property conditions. In all the forms through which society has passed nothing has ever been found upon which class privileges could be founded, or with which they could be maintained, that did not resolve itself, directly or indirectly, into the ownership and control of property.

Modern society can quite adequately illustrate the point. The ownership of property enables the owners to appropriate wealth without producing its equivalent. As the natural corollary of this, the absence of ownership of property entails upon the propertyless the penalty of producing, and being robbed of, that wealth which the property owner acquires without labour. If the non-producer appropriates the product of human toil it is incontestable that he must take the wealth of those who do produce.

This property ownership creates, for those who share in it on the one hand, and for those who are debarred from it on the other, conditions of life that are as divergent as, that possibly are even more divergent than, are the life conditions of the propertyless class and the common domesticated animals. Let no one dismiss this as a wild exaggeration. The facts as revealed by a little thought are convincing. The horse lives to work; the propertyless worker does the same. In this respect they are parallel. To say that one lives a human exist-

In other words, the German and Austrian "Socialists" plead for reconciliation with the labour decoys of other countries after the war, it being impossible to meet while the conflict is on, "less on account," as Mr. Bruce Glasier says, "of the difficulty of getting together a representative delegation from the belligerent countries than from the fear lest national animosity should burst forth in the congress, and the danger of prejudicing the political and military situation."

So little do these so-called Socialists understand the class war and its aims. True, the International sometimes passes pious resolutions about the "tried and victorious policy based on the class war," but in the main their deliberations are confined to such impossible demands as have been quoted above, and to capitalist reforms, most of which are already in operation in one country or another, or are advocated by the Liberals or Tories themselves—which is sufficient in itself to condemn them as harmful to the working class.

The difference between the Socialist and the anti-Socialist is just that emphasised by the "Post." Stated clearly, the Socialist is one who takes up the prosecution of the class war to its final aim: the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of Socialism. He who, claiming to be a Socialist, abjures this, is therefore no Socialist, and of necessity must be anti-Socialist.

F. F.

ON THE FORMATION OF A WORKING-CLASS PARTY.

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ence while the other lives an animal existence is sophistry. It is, in reality, trying to cover up the truth by revealing the "human" nature of the worker and the "animal" nature of the horse. It utters no truth at all concerning the respective conditions under which the one and the other live. It is quite plain that the higher mind which it is commonly assumed is embodied in thy human make up may be but an instrument of torture under wretched conditions—a suggestion amply borne out by the prevalence of the drug habit among "intellectual" failures, and, dare we say, the drink habit among those who find it more suited to their needs. The rock bottom fact is that both the propertyless human worker and the horse live only to work—and to work for somebody else. In this respect there is no distance between them.

On the other hand, there is all the difference in the world between the life conditions of the property owner and those of the propertyless worker. An immensity of difference separates them. It is not only that the former is set free from the necessity of having to work for his living while the latter has to produce the livelihood of both. It is much worse than that. The wage-worker does not merely live by the sale of his labour-power: he has to sell the whole of his labour-power, even to the point of exhaustion, and for just so much as will suffice in the long run to reproduce that labour-power. Day in and day out, from childhood to decrepit old age, this is his dreary fate, with super-added misery that he never knows when he is going to find it impossible to get a purchaser for his commodity, and hence when he and those dependent upon him will find themselves face to face with actual starvation.

The life conditions of such as these, with the misery of their hopeless toil, the constant anxiety of their insecure hold upon the means of subsistence, the narrow circle of their horizon, the sordid surroundings of their habitations, and the poverty-buried atmosphere of their home life, have nothing at all in common with the life conditions of the propertied class. The latter do not know what it is to have work for their living, to be chained from year's end to year's end to one spot, like tethered goats, because their living lies there, to want for common necessities of life. How completely these two sets of life conditions are separated from each other can only be left, after all, to the imagination of the reader.

It is not denied that many of the working class are considerably better off than the bulk of their fellows; but even these cases the main features of the working-class lot are present—they have to sell their labour-power, and as a consequence are bound to a prescribed daily round, never sure when even the opportunity of following that dull round may be denied to them.

No one can help observing that these two classes exist in society. We shall next proceed to enquire whether classes whose lives have so little in common can have common interests, or whether their interests, like their life conditions, are peculiar to the class.

(To be continued.)

TRIFLES.

"As for me, I count it an honour to have been chairman of the Independent Labour Party during the past year, which will always be remembered as one containing a record of faithful adherence to principle of which the Party may well be proud."

(Mr. F. W. Jowett. Presidential address, I.L.P. Conference, Norwich.)

It would be a never-to-be-forgotten occurrence if it were true that the I.L.P. could find any record of faithful adherence to principle. But they haven't got any any principles to be either false or true to, which is the reason they can be facing all ways according to the dictates of "conscience," and still hang together.

"How is the cost of the war to be met? The I.L.P. must press for heavy taxation of unearned incomes."—"Labour leader," 15.4.15.)

No doubt Lloyd George likes to hear all views, and if the I.L.P. can take his worry off his shoulders they are doing useful work—for him.

Although the different sections of the capitalist class can and do act together, or at any rate on the same lines, for the purposes of the class struggle, this class itself is divided as far as the struggle for markets, concessions, control of trade routes, and the like are concerned. Since in this struggle, as well as in the class struggle, might is right, and since the only forces that can be used by the contending sections are the armed forces of the different States, the resulting armed conflicts take on the character of national wars. In view of the facts that modern wars have their origin in tendencies that will last as long as capitalist society itself, and that these wars are fought only in the interests of different groups of the master class, it is easy to see what attitude toward them must be taken up by a

"Moreover, you must not imagine that the Socialist simply stands for Labour. That is the profound mistake so many of you make. *We are the greatest friends the capitalist has got.*" (Debate on Socialism, May 11th, 1908, published by the Haslemere Branch of the

In contrast to the treacherous policy of the I.L.P., the attitude taken up by the Socialist Party toward the war has been one of clear and definite opposition, and this fact gives the lie direct to Mr. Jowett.

With a view to recommencing at the first available opportunity, and with renewed vigour, the propaganda that has been carried on so successfully in Victoria Park by the East London Branch, local sympathisers are requested to communicate with A. Jacobs, 78 Eric Street, Mile End, E. The Branch meets at the above address twice each month (see "Branch Directory" on back page) and the comrades are anxious to enrol all those who agree with the principles and policy of the Party for a concentrated and sustained attack upon the enemies of the workers.

"This dominion of the class which controls the production of society is due not only to the coercive power it possesses over the other members of society by reason of such control, and of the control of society's means of subsistence and comfort which results therefrom, but also to its persuasive powers. From the standpoint of interest it must be admitted that its interests lie along the road of the progress of society, and therefore coincide with the interests of society as a whole. From the higher "ideal" standpoint its position is also impregnable: what it obtained by might has in due course of time become its right by the rule of prescription euphoniously known as 'tradition' the greatest and most potent source of right, as it requires no evidence of title and works itself into the very inner consciousness of man and becomes so extensive with his feelings. To help and augment this natural feeling of its right, the

If the critics of "Marxism," however, really needed an instance of "self sacrifice for an ideal" in order to attack our generalisation,

The Allies, of course, have pretty well got their hands full, hence it denotes no uncanny insight to arrive at the conclusion pronounced by the writer quoted, that "there may be limits to the action which the Allies can take now." There may indeed. However, later advances prove in very amusing fashion, that on the plans of capitalist cunning, though it is as true as ever that "East is East and West is West," the twain do meet. For Japan discovered that her demands infringed certain "dormant concessions" to British firms. So she showed a very fine appreciation of the Western spirit in general and of British "honour" in particular. She acted upon the theory that, though as regards the violation of the political independence of China, the accomplished fact might be nine points of the international law, with China's guarantors so busy redeeming their "plighted word" elsewhere, any direct attack upon British economic interests would certainly mean trouble. The way this ally of the allies who are pouring out the blood of their workers over the matter of the violation of the independence of Belgium applied the same set of principles to China is a refreshingly candid interpretation of those principles. There is no rift among the looters, but that is entirely due to the size and number of the British guns.

Tickets may be had from the Head Office, 193
GRAY'S INN RD., W.

THE SO-CALLED PRIMITIVE ACCUMULATION.

BEING PART VIII OF "CAPITAL" (Vol. 1), BY KARL MARX.

BLOODY LEGISLATION AGAINST THE EXPROPRIATED FROM THE END OF THE 15th CENTURY. FORCING DOWN WAGES BY ACTS OF PARLIAMENT.

(Continued.)

It is not enough that the conditions of labour are concentrated in a mass, in the shape of capital, at the one pole of society, while at the other are grouped masses of men, who have nothing to sell but their labour-power. Neither is it enough that they are compelled to sell it voluntarily. The advance of capitalist production develops a working-class, which by education, tradition, habit, looks upon the conditions of that mode of production as self-evident laws of nature. The organisation of the capitalist process of production, once fully developed, breaks down all resistance. The constant generation of a relative surplus-population keeps the law of supply and demand of labour, and therefore keeps wages, in a rut that corresponds with the wants of capital. The dull compulsion of economic relations completes the subjection of the labourer to the capitalist. Direct force, outside economic conditions, is of course still used, but only exceptionally. In the ordinary run of things, the labourer can be left to the "natural laws of production," i.e., to his dependence on capital, a dependence springing from, and guaranteed in perpetuity by, the conditions of production themselves. It is otherwise during the historic genesis of capitalist production. The bourgeoisie, at its rise, wants and uses the power of the State to "regulate" wages, i.e., to force them within the limits suitable for surplus-value making, to lengthen the working-day and to keep the labourer himself in the normal degree of dependence. This is an essential element of the so-called primitive accumulation.

The class of wage-labour, which arose in the latter half of the 14th century, formed then and in the following century only a very small part of the population, well protected in its position by the independent peasant proprietary in the country and the guild-organisation in the town. In country and town master and workmen stood close together socially. The subordination of labour to capital was only formal—i.e., the mode of production itself had as yet no specific capitalistic character. Variable capital preponderated greatly over constant. The demand for wage-labour grew, therefore, rapidly with every accumulation of capital, whilst the supply of wage-labour followed but slowly. A large part of the national product, changed later into a fund of capitalist accumulation, then still entered into the consumption fund of the labourer.

Legislation on wage-labour, (from the first, aimed at the exploitation of the labourer and, as it advanced, always equally hostile to him), is started in England by the Statute of Labourers, of Edward III., 1349. The ordinance of 1350 in France, issued in the name of King John, corresponds with it. English and French legislation run parallel and are identical in purport. So far as the labour-statutes aim at compulsory extension of the working-day, I do not return to them, as this point was treated earlier (Chap. X., Section 5).

The Statute of Labourers was passed at the urgent instance of the House of Commons. A Tory says naively: "Formerly the poor demanded such high wages as to threaten industry and wealth. Next, their wages are so low as to threaten industry and wealth equally and perhaps more, but in another way." A tariff of wages was fixed by law for town and country, for piece-work and day-work. The agricultural labourers were to hire themselves out by the year, the town ones "in open market." It was forbidden, under pain of imprisonment, to pay higher wages than those fixed by the statute, but the taking of higher wages was more severely punished than the giving them. [So also in Sections 18 and 19 of the Statute of

Apprentices of Elizabeth, ten days' imprisonment is decreed for him that pays the higher wages, but twenty-one days for him that receives them.] A statute of 1360 increased the penalties and authorised the masters to extort labour at the legal rate by corporal punishment. All combinations, contracts, oaths, &c., by which masons and carpenters reciprocally bound themselves, were declared null and void. Coalition of the labourers is treated as a heinous crime from the 14th century to 1825, the year of the repeal of the laws against Trade Unions. The spirit of the Statute of Labourers of 1349 and of its offshoots, comes out clearly in the fact, that a maximum of wages is dictated by the State, but on no account a minimum.

In the 16th century, the condition of the labourers had, as we know, become much worse. The money wage rose, but not in proportion to the depreciation of money and the corresponding rise in the prices of commodities. Wages, therefore, in reality fell. Nevertheless, the laws for keeping them down remained in force, together with the ear-clipping and branding of those "whom no one was willing to take into service." By the Statute of Apprentices 5 Elizabeth, c. 3, the justices of the peace were empowered to fix certain wages and to modify them according to the time of the year and the price of commodities. James I. extended these regulations of labour also to weavers, spinners, and all possible categories of workers. George II. extended the laws against coalitions of labourers to manufacturers. In the manufacturing period *par excellence*, the capitalist mode of production had become sufficiently strong to render legal regulation of wages as impractical as it was unnecessary; but the ruling classes were unwilling in case of necessity to be without the weapons of the old arsenal. Still, 8 George II. forbade a higher day's wage than 2s. 7½d. for journeyman tailors in and around London, except in cases of general mourning; still, 13 George III., c. 68, gave the regulation of the silk-weavers to the justices of the peace; still in 1706 it required two judgments of the higher courts to decide, whether the mandates of justices of the peace as to wages held good also for non-agricultural labourers; still, in 1799 an act of Parliament ordered that the wages of the Scotch miners should continue to be regulated by a statute of Elizabeth and two Scotch acts of 1661 and 1671. How completely in the meantime circumstances had changed, is proved by an occurrence unheard of before in the English Lower House. In that place, where for more than 400 years laws had been made for the maximum, beyond which wages absolutely must not rise, Whitbread in 1796 proposed a legal minimum wage for agricultural labourers. Pitt opposed this, but confessed that the "condition of the poor was cruel." Finally, in 1813, the laws for the regulation of wages were repealed. They were an absurd anomaly, since the capitalist regulated his factory by his private legislation, and could by the poor-rates make up the wage of the agricultural labourer to the indispensable minimum. The provisions of the labour statutes as to the contracts between master and workman, as to giving notice and the like, which only allow of a civil action against the contract-breaking master, but on the contrary permit a criminal action against the contract-breaking workman, are to this hour (1873) in full force. The barbarous laws against Trades' Unions fell in 1825 before the threatening bearing of the proletariat. Despite this, they fell only in part. Certain beautiful fragments of the old statute vanished only in 1859. Finally, the act of Parliament of June 26, 1871, made a pretence of removing the last traces of this class of legislation by legal recognition of Trades Unions. But an act of Parliament of the same date (an act to amend the criminal law relating to violence; threats, and molestation), re-established, in point of fact, the former state of things in a new shape. By this Parliamentary escamotage the means which the labourers could use in a strike or lock-out were withdrawn from the laws common to all citizens, and placed under exceptional penal legislation, the interpretation of which fell to the masters themselves in their capacity as justices of the peace. Two years earlier, the same House of Commons and the same Mr. Gladstone in the well known straightforward fashion brought in a bill for the aboli-

tion of all exceptional penal legislation against the working class. But this was never allowed to go beyond the second reading, and the matter was thus protracted until at last the "great Liberal party," by an alliance with the Tories, found courage to turn against the very proletariat that had carried it into power. Not content with this treachery, the "great Liberal party" allowed the English judges, ever complaisant in the service of the ruling classes, to dig up again the earlier laws against "conspiracy," and to apply them to coalitions of labourers. We see that only against its will and under the pressure of the masses did the English Parliament give up the laws against Strikes and Trades' Unions, after it had itself, for 500 years, held, with shameless egoism, the position of a permanent Trades' Union of the capitalists against the labourers.

During the very first storms of the revolution, the French bourgeoisie dared to take away from the workers the right of association but just acquired. By a decree of June 14, 1791, they declared all coalition of the workers as "an attempt against liberty and the declaration of the rights of man," punishable by a fine of 500 livres, together with deprivation of the rights of an active citizen for one year. This law which, by means of State compulsion, confined the struggle between capital and labour within limits comfortable for capital, has outlived revolutions and changes of dynasties. Even the Reign of Terror left it untouched. It was but quite recently struck out of the Penal Code. Nothing is more characteristic than the pretext for this bourgeois coup d'état. "Granting," says Chapelier, the reporter of the Select Committee on this law, "that wages ought to be a little higher than they are, . . . that they ought to be high enough for him that receives them, to be free from that state of absolute dependence due to the want of the necessities of life, and which is almost that of slavery," yet the workers must not be allowed to come to an understanding about their own interests, nor to act in common and thereby lessen their "absolute dependence, which is almost that of slavery," because, forsooth, in doing this they injure "the freedom of their cleverest masters, the present entrepreneurs," and because a coalition against the despotism of the quondam masters of the corporations is—guess what!—is a restoration of the corporations abolished by the French constitution.

GENESIS OF THE CAPITALIST FARMER.

Now that we have considered the forcible creation of a class of outlawed proletarians, the bloody discipline that turned them into wage-labourers, the disgraceful action of the State which employed the police to accelerate the accumulation of capital by increasing the degree of exploitation of labour, the question remains: whence came the capitalists originally? For the expropriation of the agricultural population creates, directly, none but great landed proprietors. As far, however, as concerns the genesis of the farmer, we can, so to say, put our hand on it, because it is a slow process evolving through many centuries. The serfs, as well as the free small proprietors, held land under very different tenures, and were therefore emancipated under very different economic conditions. In England the first form of the farmer is the bailiff, himself a serf. His position is similar to that of the old Roman *villicus*, only in a more limited sphere of action. During the second half of the 14th century he is replaced by a farmer, whom the landlord provides with seed, cattle and implements. His condition is not very different to that of the peasant. Only he exploits more wage labour. Soon he becomes a métayer, a half-farmer. He advances one part of the agricultural stock, the landlord the other. The two divide the total product in proportions determined by contract. This form quickly disappears in England, to give place to the farmer proper, who makes his own capital breed by employing wage-labourers, and pays a part of the surplus product, in money or in kind, to the landlord as rent. So long, during the 15th century, as the independent peasant and the farm-labourer working for himself as well as for wages, enriched themselves by their own labour, the circumstances of the farmer, and his field of

production, were equally mediocre. The agricultural revolution which commenced in the last third of the 15th century, and continued during almost the whole of the 16th (excepting, however, its last decade), enriched him just as speedily as it impoverished the mass of the agricultural people.

The usurpation of the common lands allowed him to augment greatly his stock of cattle, almost without cost, whilst they yielded him a richer supply of manure for the tillage of the soil. To this, was added in the 16th century, a very important element. At that time the contracts for farms ran for a long time, often for 99 years. The progressive fall in the value of the precious metals, and therefore of money, brought the farmers golden fruit. Apart from all the circumstances discussed above, it lowered wages. A portion of the latter were now added to the profits of the farm. The continuous rise in the price of corn, wool, meat, in a word of all agricultural produce, swelled the money capital of the farmer without any action on his part, whilst the rent he paid, (being calculated on the old value of money) diminished in reality. Thus they grew rich at the expense both of their labourers and their landlords. No wonder, therefore, that England, at the end of the 16th century, had a class of capitalist farmers, rich, considering the circumstances of the time.

(To be Continued.)

A STUDY IN GUARANTEES.

This is, seemingly, an age of guarantees. A bewildering number of commodities are guaranteed for some thing, or for some time; a few, in fact, are even guaranteed for ever!

At first glance this would seem a remarkable illustration of the genuineness of that claim for supreme reliability, which is put forward on behalf of the goods of every up-to-date manufacturer. But the unsophisticated purchaser of a watch—laborately guaranteed for twelve months—or more—has a sudden and painful disillusionment when the mainspring snaps. On his hopeful return to the salesman with his precious certificate, he usually finds to his stupefaction that he has broken most of the terms of the warranty, as well as the spring, by using the watch; and must therefore pay heavily for the repair.

His disgust makes him suddenly realise that until then he had mistaken the rightful use of that piece of paper with the many flourishes.

A closer acquaintance with the guarantee fraud completes his disillusionment, for he finds the purpose of the guarantee to be—not the proud assumption, on the part of the maker, of full responsibility for the article—but precisely the denial of that responsibility. The guarantee is not to protect the purchaser, but to limit the responsibility of the maker, and protect him from liability for consequential damage, for which he would be actionable at law in the absence of that specific disclaimer he has the cheek to call a Guarantee! That blessed word, to be sure, is always printed on the document in bold capitals, but it is followed by serried ranks of microscopic type which often runs—to quote an actual and common specimen—"This guarantee is given instead of, and expressly excluding, any kind of implied guarantee (statutory or otherwise) and the damages for which we make ourselves responsible are limited to . . . etc. It does not apply to any defects caused by wear and tear," and so on, *ad nauseam*.

It is, however, characteristic of the capitalists to give their profit-making devices every appearance of charity and self-sacrifice. They take Hamlet's advice and assume a virtue though they have it not. Thus, for example, the last few days have seen yet another form of these specious guarantees pass before the public eye. In the "Daily Telegraph" of April 23rd, Mr. George Pragnell, chairman of the Employers' Territorial Association, gave a list of recommendations to aid recruiting. No. 10 of these urged: "That all employers be compelled to guarantee re-instatement to men who leave their present situations to join the colours or to assist in making munitions of war."

Surely, from the point of view of the capital-

ist class itself, nothing could be more reasonable than this. Working men who are sacrificing themselves and their dependents to uphold the country, wealth and profits of their masters, would certainly seem to deserve to have their posts of slavery preserved for them. But is this, then, to be done? Not at all. The self-sacrifice of the master class to those who have the privilege of defending it so bravely, would be overstrained. Such a definite pledge may appear quite reasonable to us workmen, but the capitalist knows that it is utterly impracticable. It might reduce profits. Let profits be maintained, though the heavens fall, say our masters. Therefore, instead of, and expressly excluding, any kind of implied guarantee (statutory or otherwise) the employers of this country are signing the following pledge:

In view of the great sacrifices made by most of the men who have enlisted (including loss of situation), and in order to further stimulate recruiting, we wish it to be known that, when filling up positions after the war, we intend to give preference to those who have served their country under arms or in making munitions of war.

SIGNATURE OF EMPLOYER.
TRADE.
TOWN AND COUNTY
(*"Daily Telegraph," 23.4.1915.*)

This is the actual form that is being signed by employers all over the country. Its superiority to Mr. Pragnell's suggestion is at once apparent. The Patriotic Pledge takes the wind out of the sails of any attempt to get the Government to re-instate men. Moreover, it fulfils its great purpose of stimulating recruiting, and leaves the employee without excuse—unless he dares to doubt the intention and good faith of his employer! Most wonderful of all, however, is the fact that this pledge does not menace profits, nor bind the employer in any way. It is entirely of a piece with the commercial guarantees already referred to.

Even if the pledge gave a definite undertaking, the head of the firm always escapes responsibility. His departmental foremen have to make their sections show good results, and these foremen, who take on hands, have to crush down all sentiment and take only the most profitable, irrespective of past services, or see themselves supplanted by less scrupulous men. In these circumstances the war-worn warrior stands a very slender chance.

But the pledge guarantees nothing. After the war the heroes, or what is left of them, will present themselves for re-engagement. Then the employer "when filling up positions after the war" will, if men otherwise equal in profit-making capacity offer themselves, give "preference" to the man who has fought for him. The employer, therefore, is under no obligation whatever to re-instate the man, or even to pay the same wages as before the war, or to dispense with the cheap woman or child labour that he has put in the place of the hero. He is not pledged to forego one jot or tittle of profit or convenience. He has merely when "taking on" to give "preference." As the soldier will remark, the generosity of the employers' pledge is simply paralysing.

Of what value, indeed, is any such "preference" when, after the debilitating privations and nerve-shattering experiences of war, added to the loss of skill due to long absence from his craft, the disadvantages of the ex-soldier are so obvious? Clearly the real economic preference, the preference that has first call on the generosity of the employer, will nearly always be against the brave fighter for his master's cause.

What is the lesson of the past? Says the "Daily Telegraph" in the same issue, "Some men of military age . . . responsible for the welfare of others . . . still hesitate . . . Remembering the experience of ex-soldiers who, after the South African war, sought employment in vain for many months, they hang back." This, indeed, is common knowledge. But wherein does the present pledge improve the prospect? If the employing class were willing to sacrifice a millionth part of what the workers are sacrificing for them, they would freely and frankly guarantee re-instatement as the least they could do. Yet their present pledge is a fraud on the fighter and an insult to the workers' intelligence. Its sole purpose

is to give a fillip to recruiting while safeguarding the pockets of the employer.

What evidence have we, indeed, of any sacrifice on the part of the employing class? If all of them went to the front they would only be doing their duty, for they have something to fight for. It is, in fact, their fight. But where are they not endeavouring to screw the uttermost farthing of profit out of the war? Flour is a prime necessity of life, yet here is a sample, from the same issue of the paper, of the facts which leak out about "sacrifices" made by the employing class.

"FLOUR MERCHANTS' PROFITS."

—O—
"REMARKABLE FIGURES."

"The annual report of Messrs. Spillers and Bakers (Ltd.), millers and flour merchants, issued yesterday, shows a profit for the year ended February of £367,865, against £89,352 in the previous year. The directors propose an increased bonus of 5 per cent., making a distribution of 20 per cent. for the year, against 15 per cent. in the three previous years, placing £100,000 to reserve for special contingencies, £50,000 to general reserve fund, and carrying forward £253,111, or £100,000 more than last year. The highest previous year's profit was £196,517 in 1912."

On the other hand, however, what a howl of outraged patriotism was vented by the Press when a body of engineers, to meet some of the increased cost of living, demanded a little more in wages! It is abundantly clear that the whole sacrifice must be on one side. And of this, indeed, the Great Patriotic Pledge is itself an example.

Many thousands of women and young persons are taking, at a considerably smaller wage, the jobs vacated by the warriors. And this, of course, is all to the profit of the capitalist, for there is neither pledge nor prospect that these women will ever be discharged to make room for ex-soldiers. Indeed, what would become of them in that event? Women have surely as much right to a livelihood as men. But capitalism continually creates problems it cannot solve, and which can never be solved short of Socialism. Suffice to say, the prospects for the labour market after the war are by no means rosy. The employer, however, can rub his hands with glee, for he, as usual, is playing the good old game of heads I win and tails you lose.

It is evident that the conclusion of the war will find labour driven to the wall, and engaged in its keenest and most bitter struggle. It will, moreover, find capitalism hoping to have obtained a fresh lease of life from the destruction of the wealth of a generation.

Peace under capitalism, therefore, can but be synonymous with class warfare—hardly less deadly, and no less widespread, than the national-plus-class warfare of the present moment. Would that one could be consoled in the midst of the squalid industrial slavery of capitalism, and its decimation of the manhood of the world on the altars of patriotism, with the certain knowledge that at long last the workers have read their hard lesson aright; so that the end of this war were the beginning of the end of all war!

In that event the joy of contemplating the end of wage-slavery and the birth of a possibility for a full, healthy and peaceful life for all, would amply compensate the miseries and atrocities of the day.

How long, indeed, will the toilers endure the wretched system which transforms a superabundant wealth-production into a reason for poverty, for over-work, and for a human shambles more awful than any ever known in the long history of the world, and in which, as a final commentary on the useless patriotism of the robber class, even the supreme sacrifice of their defenders is being purchased by employers with false coin!

F. C. W.

The receipt of this copy of our journal is an invitation to subscribe.

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- "Cotton's Weekly" (Canada).
- "Appeal to Reason" (Kansas).
- "International News Letter" (Berlin).
- "The Western Clarion" (Vancouver).
- "The Socialist" (Melbourne).
- "Industrial Union News" (Detroit).

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BEING A REPORT OF

A DEBATE

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AND

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THE SOCIALIST PARTY of Great Britain

HOLDS—

That society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master class, and the consequent enslavement of the working class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.

That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce and those who produce but do not possess.

That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

That as in the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind, without distinction of race or sex.

That this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.

That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working-class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.

That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

The Socialist Party of Great Britain, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

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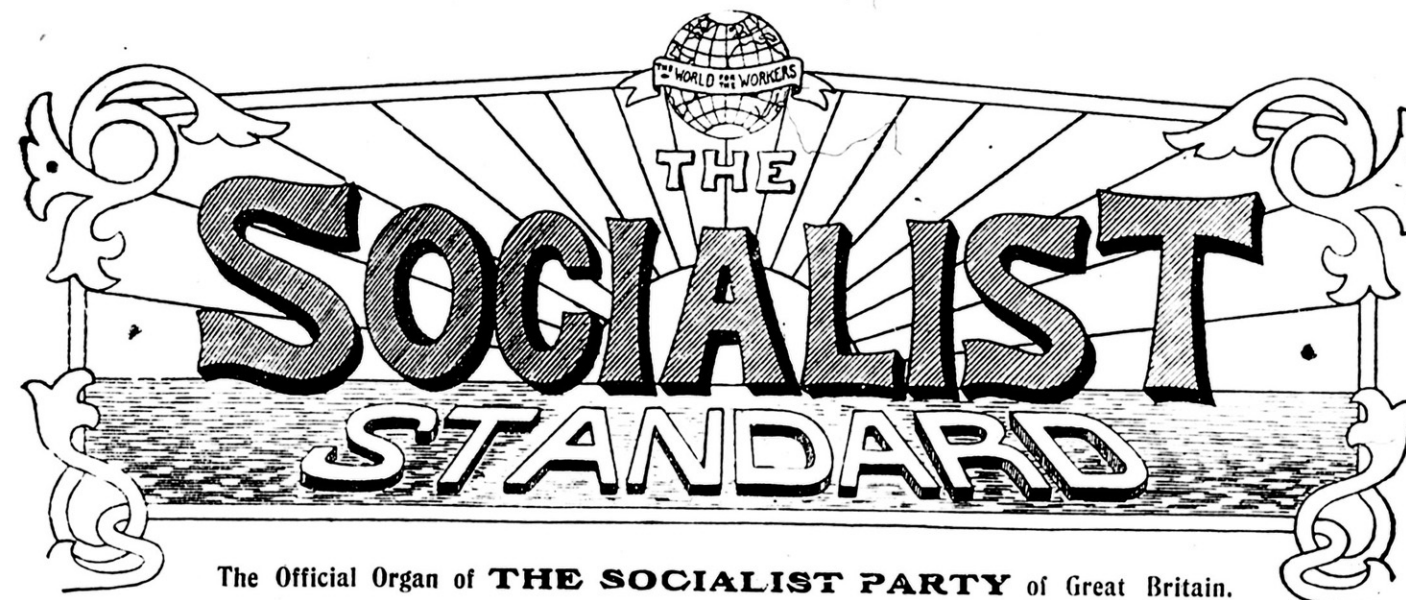
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The Official Organ of **THE SOCIALIST PARTY** of Great Britain.

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LONDON, JUNE, 1915.

[MONTHLY, ONE PENNY.]

A THING OF BEAUTY.

SOME REFLECTIONS ON BOURGEOIS MORALITY.

The subject of what are known as war babies was recently agitating the Press of this country, the excitement at one time being so great that one journal was shaken into a confession. On the 29th April the leading article in the "Evening News" was headed "Baby-Talk." In spite, however, of the enormous interest attaching to this question it is the discussion arising from it, rather than the subject itself, which it is here intended to review.

The Bishops Lead the Footing

Convocation, we find, discusses the question, and individual bishops become tremendously concerned about it. The Bishop of Oxford condemns the lacy of tone in which the matter has been discussed in some quarters, and the Bishop of Chelmsford attacks the Press and says that newspapers with immense circulations have been advocating what is practically free love. That such a state of things can even be alleged is evidence, surely, that far more seriousness is needed.

So smile not, reader, even at the bishops who discuss this matter in Convocation. Even if, in the course of your ramblings among statistics, you may have found that certain University towns do not figure among those with the smallest percentages of illegitimate births, and even if you should reflect on the academic distinction of the learned gentlemen in Convocation, still, draw no hasty and erroneous conclusions. Smile not at the solemnity of these bishops. Remember that if for the dominant class as a whole the maintenance of war babies will only be a matter of rates or taxes, for the clergy, on the other hand, the maintenance of bourgeois morality is a matter of life and death. An individual bourgeois— a contractor, for example, grown rich on the profits derived from the traffic in foodstuffs or other death-dealing materials— might conceivably dismiss this question of war babies with a remark like Heinrich Heine's:

"Oh, the women! we must forgive them much, for they love much— and many."

But for the clergy it is different. The master whom they serve is the capitalist class, and when it shall have become evident that their (the clergy's) ever-feeble influence over the proletariat has vanished entirely, their reward will be that of the superannuated wage-slave: the sack.

Of Kids who
haven't Paid
Their Footing.

Hence these parasites now-a-days must take themselves very seriously (in public); the more their influence wanes the more importance and solemnity must they assume. So much for the clergy and their comic, if comprehensible, seriousness.

But before leaving these survivals and turning to the views of the comparatively responsible

bourgeois, it is necessary to record one remark made to Convocation by the Archbishop of Canterbury. "It was quite apparent," the Archbishop added, "that apprehensions were very much better founded in some few places in England than in others." ("Daily Chronicle," 28th April, 1915.) The depth of thought responsible for this remark may be paralleled, perhaps, in the works of our orthodox economists, but where shall we find a finer example of caution? If only such a degree of this quality had been possessed by those girls who now threaten to increase the rates or taxes of our masters!

Yes, the rates or taxes. For if these masters of ours pay for the education of the proletariat in capitalist morality, that is only because its adoption by the workers is so helpful to the exploiting class. Therefore, when the moral welfare of the working class is receiving special attention from our superiors it is worth our while to see how the pocket of the latter is being threatened. And it is the bourgeois himself who will help us here.

Take for example the letter addressed by Mr. Ronald McNeill to the "Morning Post" (quoted in "Reynolds's," 18th April, 1915). Mr. McNeill is not altogether certain what action should be taken in the matter of war babies, but endeavours to show reasons for some slight changes.

"It also has to be considered," he says, "how provision is to be made for the fatherless child."

While Boss

Loquacious Waxes

On the Theme of

Rates and Taxes.

ren, whose girl mothers have no separation allowance, no separate homes of their own, and no means of support. If nothing is done, thousands of them will fall upon the rates. Better that they should be boldly adopted as the honourable children of the State than that they should sink through life as the children of shame and the parish.

Of course. Has it not been shown quite recently how much can be saved by partially supporting old people outside the workhouse instead of maintaining them inside? Why not make use of the knowledge gained from the results of the Old Age Pensions Acts? If the existing morality stands in the way, then some modification is necessary. As Mr. McNeill says:

"What is wanted is for the religious leaders of the country to come forward with an honest and courageous pronouncement that under existing circumstances the mothers of our soldiers' children are to be treated with no scorn or dishonour, and that the infants themselves should receive a loyal and unashamed welcome."

Just so. The religious leaders of the past knew how to adapt their teaching to altered circumstances. It was necessary at one time to thun-

der against that "immorality," lending money for interest. But the rise to power of the capitalist class gave the Church a new master, a new ruling class to serve. Denunciations of usury are quite in order while the feudal barons remain powerful, but would be horribly out of place in modern society. The Church of to-day must adapt its teachings to the needs of the ruling class of to-day. What is necessary to-day is to distinguish between the temporary and the more lasting interests of that class.

They will to Save their Precious Tin

This fact, slightly disguised, is pointed out by A.G.C. in the "Daily News" of the 24th April. Referring to Mr. McNeill's suggestions he writes:

"He [Mr. McNeill] does not seem to see that if you popularise illegitimacy now, if you grow dithyrambic about it, you will popularise it permanently. You cannot have two standards on this subject, a war standard of morality and a peace standard. . . . it is not easy to see that, once having removed the 'bar sinister' from our social system, it could ever be restored."

But a change of this sort should not be made incidentally and in a paroxysm of sentiment, but with a full consideration of all that is involved in it. We must not do it to-day under the impulse of patriotism and undo it to-morrow under the impulse of selfish interest.

Two things, however, appear to be agreed upon by most of our bourgeois writers on this topic. One is that the bearing of illegitimate children is an evil; the other is that the bastardy laws must be reformed. On the latter point one writer became so excited that he nearly repeated himself to death in the pages of the "English Review." The gentleman in question is Mr. Austin Harrison, he who recently rose to fame as an authority on Marx's Materialist Conception of History without having devoted a moment's study to that subject. "The law," he writes,

"is unspeakably cruel. It says the illegitimate child has to remain illegitimate. It has no kin, no right of inheritance."

I say, with all the earnestness of which I am capable, it will be a lasting disgrace if we do not repeal our wicked Bastardy Laws, so

Revise the
Catalogue
of Sin.

that these children may be suffered to come into the world free from ban and social degradation."

Terrible! Think of it, you happy, legitimate wage-slaves, who came into the world— free from ban and social degradation! And how sad that these children of the disinherited should be deprived of the right of inheritance!

In the numerous articles written on the sub-

ject of war babies the views that one finds expressed are mostly of the character of those above quoted, and it is difficult to believe the statement of the Bishop of Chelmsford that "what was practically free love" was advocated by newspapers with immense circulations. For it is the Socialists alone who advocate and work for the establishment of those social conditions which will remove the obstacles in the way of free love. "The full freedom of marriage," as Frederick Engels wrote, "can become general only after all minor economic considerations, that still exert such a powerful influence on the choice of a mate for life, have been removed by the abolition of capitalistic production and of the property relations created by it. Then no other motive will remain but mutual fondness."

A. C. A.

THE B.S.P.

"WHICH HORSE DO THEY RIDE?"

O.C.

"Henceforth, possibly, we shall know whether it is Ramsay the national recruiting agent, or MacDonald 'peace at any price' politician who is addressing the public, and similarly with those other dual personalities, Keir and Hardie, Bruce and Glasier, etc., etc. Which horse do you ride, comrades, the white or the skew-bald?"

So wrote Mr. Hyndman in the "Sunday Herald" of March 28th, 1915, and it may, indeed, be difficult for the layman to say which horse the I.L.P. is astride. Some of its members, like Parker, M.P., are foremost in their support of the "allies," and are strenuously assisting the masters "to justify the war and glorify Great Britain's share in the responsibility for its pestilential presence," if we may quote his fraternal comrade Jowett. It is plain to the thinker with any degree of clarity that the I.L.P. is pursuing the old "facing both ways" policy in order to confuse the worker, and to enlist support from all sides.

Where, however, stands the organisation of which Mr. Hyndman is so shining a light, the "British Socialist Party," the party that so short a time ago startled the world with its manifestoes hurling defiance to the master class and all its labour supporters, breathing fire upon all forms of compromise and reform? Which horse does it ride? Neither white nor skew-bald nor pied, but a new sort of horse, with many of the qualities of the ass, and with an outer covering of a rainbow hue.

A report of the voting at divisional conferences states that the conference "urged the party to take no part in recruiting meetings under any conditions whatever" and that the "conference regrets that the Executive Committee should have recommended members and branches under any circumstances whatever, to associate themselves with the recruiting campaign." One resolution, carried by 97 votes to 24, declares the war to be "the outcome of commercial rivalry between the capitalists," asserts that "the workers have no quarrel," and "calls upon the working class to concentrate on class war," declaring that the workers' conditions make it "vital for them to organise for the overthrow of the capitalist system."

This, however, does not suit Mr. Hyndman. He openly supports the British capitalists in their call for cannon fodder; accuses the I.L.P. of "distorting public documents," "publishing the opinions of the German Government in their official pamphlets" (presumably with German funds) without thinking it necessary to bring forward a tittle of evidence for any of his statements.

Other prominent members, headed by Victor Fisher, have assisted in the formation of the Socialist National Defence Committee, which issues a manifesto urging Socialists to carry the British flag in the "war of liberation" the most amusing document that has appeared for some time past in that most comic journal, "The Clarion" (14.5.15).

Here is a sample:

"In this gigantic struggle for the Soul of European civilisation, threatened to-day by a brutish but highly efficient militarist materialism, our allied nations have found their bulwark in an application of those principles which are the foundation of Socialist faith.

Not to egotistic individualism, nor to competitive commercialism, nor to profit-mongering does Europe in her agony turn for strength and sustenance; but to Social solidarity, organization, co-operation, and an exalted self sacrifice. Who dies if England lives? Is not this appeal the essential appeal of Socialism?"

Now one can see the breed of the ass.

And of the signatories to the above, Mr. G. H. Gorle, writes to "Justice" (15.4.15) illustrating some of the confusion. He complains that "the Kentish Town branch dissociates itself from Hyndman; the Executive goes out of its way to do the same to the I.L.P. conference. Some branches sell the 'Labour Leader' and I.L.P. pamphlets. At least one branch refuses a speaker because he takes the allied Socialist view of the war."

He declares himself a "loyal member of the Party," and to display his loyalty says:

"I say quite frankly that in future if the opportunity occurs, I shall go on the recruiting platform, and that I believe the best way to serve the cause of International Social Democracy is to fight for the success of the Allies."

It would seem to be by far the best way to serve International Socialism to preach to the fraternal comrades of each country that they should kill their fraternal comrades of other countries. This is the way to unity.

J. Hunter Watts goes one better ("Justice," 22.4.15) and calls for recruits for a "Comrades company for service at the front," stating that he has "now constituted himself a recruiting agent for the British Army"; while at a Blackburn meeting of the B.S.P. (May 2) he declares that "every Socialist capable of shouldering a rifle must enlist." The meeting closed with "God Save the King!"

One resolution of the B.S.P. Conference reads:

"That this Conference is of the opinion that the present European war has its basic origin in the rivalry in the struggle for industrial and financial markets between the capitalist classes of the various nations of Europe."

This was carried, and it can be taken to be the opinion of the party. Mr. Hunter Watts, however, pours scorn upon the idea. He says:

"It had been stated by a few formula-ridden Socialists that the war had been engineered by capitalists in order to secure markets. Such a statement was rubbish" (report of "Northern Telegraph," 3.5.15).

I take it that Mr. Hunter Watts knows that the "few formula-ridden Socialists" who talk "rubbish" constitute the majority of his own fraternal comrades!

In the same speech Mr. Hunter Watts says:

"The war was aimed at crushing a power which had already been guilty of destroying one or two small nationalities."

This sort of thing is quite a common failing of the quasi bourgeois. As though Germany was the only power that had "crushed small nationalities!"

When Masterman contested Dulwich Hunter Watts voted for him and urged others to do so on the ground that Rutherford Harris, Masterman's opponent, was a Jameson raider. He confessed that he "knew no more about Masterman than the man in the moon," and in a letter dated 13.12.03 said:

"Though it goes against the grain to vote for a Liberal, it seems to me a duty to prevent a Jameson raider being sent to Parliament."

On Harris's head rests some of the blood of the peasant farmers slain in the defence of their national independence."

So he would support Beelzebub to cast out Beelzebub. And in the present case, in order to oppose the "Militarism of Prussia" and to restrain the hand of the German capitalist on the prowl for profit, he is ready to fight in the interest of the Russian, French, Belgian, and English capitalists who are doing exactly the same thing.

If the blood of the Boer peasant farmer rested upon the head of Rutherford Harris, what oceans of working-class gore must anoint the of the group of exploiters in the allied camp!—The blood of the Communards, of the tortured men and women of Russia, of the decimated natives of the Congo, to say nothing of the

butchered peasant farmers of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State.

The B.S.P. Conference by a unanimous vote passed the following:

"That this Conference expresses abhorrence of the brutal and tyrannical methods of the Russian Government and records its special protest against (1) The criminal attempt to deprive the working class of representation by arresting the Social Democrats of the Duma; (2) the suppression of the right of meetings and of the Freedom of the Press [this is the first time the present writer has heard of its existence]; (3) the imprisonment and exile of Trade Unionists and (4) the imposition upon the enlightened Finnish people of the barbarous Muscovite despotism."

Bitter words indeed in which to describe the noble ally of Hyndman, Hunter-Watts, Gorle & Co.!

Deep is the pit into which they sink who by either ignorance or cupidly attempt to support and justify either set of thieves in their ghastly game of death. Hyndman waxes indignant over the "frightful outrages of the Germans and the piratical doings of their submarines," and then openly sides with the Allies, thereby justifying, from his viewpoint, the atrocities he has denounced in the past—the horrors of India, of Siberia and of Ireland; the suppression and betrayal of Finland, of Poland and of Persia.

Nothing that the German nation does will surprise us, because we know that in their struggle for profits there is no depth to which the capitalist class will not sink—no crime too foul for them to commit. We repeat now, after ten months of war, what we said before the war began, that in no circumstances can any Socialist urge the workers to voluntarily fight with or in the interest of any section of that piratical gang of financiers whose hands are red with the blood of murdered members of our class.

Those who, claiming to be Socialists, endeavour to entangle the workers in this bloody struggle, are working directly in the interest of our only enemy, the international capitalists, who, when their own squabble is settled, will again unite to exploit and rob the producers of the world's wealth. The B.S.P. ride the ass of confusion—may they ride it to its death!

TWEL.

BY THE WAY.

O.C.

ONE of the results of the present international struggle has been to show in no uncertain manner who is with us and those who are against us. Labour M.P.'s have endeavoured to outdo both Liberal and Tory in their denunciation of the workers. "Mr. G. H. Roberts, M.P., said he had read in the papers a statement by his friend, Mr. James Sexton, that the appalling casualties at Neuve Chapelle were largely due to the lack of munitions. In other words, if the workmen had done their duty many a British soldier who had died there would be probably alive to-day."

As was pointed out in last month's "S.S.," it is necessary to hide from the men in the trenches some of the contributing factors for the deficiency. Is Mr. Roberts really as simple as he appears to be, or is he playing the game? The present scribe knows of men who were engaged at a London Labour Exchange for work in a munitions factory at Newcastle, and after journeying thither were sent back to London without even being given a trial. This in a "national emergency," when all parties are screeching about the dearth of munitions. Verily, like the peace of God, it passeth all understanding.

Perhaps these "labour" gentry and other capitalist apologists might reply that the number of men rejected is somewhat small. But even so, it does not redound to the credit of these men of "great directive ability" and "business acumen" for their London agents to engage men and despatch them several hundred miles to be rejected at the other end.

* * *

Again, to look at the subject from another point, the magnificent wage of 28s. for a 53 hour week does not appear to err on the side of generosity. When one considers that 15s. appears to be the amount for board and lodging,

WHERE THE I.L.P. STANDS.

MISCONCEPTIONS OF THE "BRITISH COLUMBIA FEDERATIONIST."

O.C.

Mr. Ben Tillett (of God strike Lord Devonport dead fame) has been staying in France to recover his health, and on the occasion of the May-day meeting addressed a message to French workers, in the course of which he said:

"Britain alert, mutually co-operating with France, stands for civilisation, for a spiritual awakening of Europe, for the overthrow of Kaiserism, militarism, and the capitalistic vandals whose brutal power is now ravishing Europe, and the world itself."—("Reynolds," 9.5.15.)

We are obliged for this information as to Britain's object in unsheathing the sword and letting loose the dogs of war. Especially interesting is the news that we are out for the overthrow of "militarism and the capitalistic vandals." At a time when men are being trained to fight in unprecedented numbers, when the Boy Scouts, Naval Cadets, Church Lads' Brigade and a host of other similar movements are being fostered to a greater extent than ever before, this surely is a novel way of overthrowing militarism and capitalism. Try again, Ben.

* * *

We at one time thought that trade unions existed for the purpose of protecting the interests of their members, but of late they seem to be put to every other use than assisting the workers in their fight against the masters. Now we are informed that an important decision has been reached by the Glasgow and West of Scotland Armaments Committee in reference to bad time-keeping in shipyards and engineering shops. The Committee represents the workers as well as the employers and the Government Departments. The decision referred to is as follows:

"In the case of the union men it is arranged that immediately a case of apparently avoidable bad time-keeping or otherwise hindering the output of Government work is brought to notice, the employer will report to the trade union, who will investigate and, if necessary, fix the fine, which will not exceed £1 for the first offence, £2 for the second, and £3 for the third offence, the last-mentioned coupled with immediate discharge."—"Daily News & Leader," 17.5.15.

* * *

During the latter part of last year the papers proclaimed, amidst a great flourish of trumpets, that the Board of Trade had announced their intention to entertain applications for the payment from the Exchequer during the present emergency, of special grants to voluntary associations which provide benefits for their unemployed members, subject to certain conditions. The rate of the grant will be determined by the amount of the levy. In the case of one union paying unemployment benefit, we are informed that the emergency grant cannot any longer be continued by the Treasury. This appears to be another "scrap of paper" violated.

* * *

Mr. Philip Snowden, believed to have been the first man to have drawn the attention of the Government to the existence of the "drink-sodden democracy," has at long last, it appears, received recognition in the shape of a seat on the Central Control Board (Liquor Traffic). No doubt, as in the case of Mr. Arthur Henderson, his appointment will not meet with the unanimous approval of the Labour Party and I.L.P., but none can deny that he knows all about the drinking and shirking proclivities of the work class.

THE SCOUT.

The Socialist Standard standard may be judged by this and every issue.

The receipt of this copy of our journal is an invitation to subscribe.

The editorial of last month exposed the claim made by the chairman of the Independent Labour Party Conference that every other political party had mobilised its forces to justify the war and glorify Great Britain's share in it. But now the "British Columbia Federationist" chants a variant on the same theme.

In its issue of April 23rd it says:

"As far as one can see, the only political party in Europe of any size or importance, which is in a logical position to-day, is the British Independent Labour Party. Whether its attitude is right or wrong is not the point. It has opposed increased armaments before the war. It opposed the proposal to go into the war. And it has consistently opposed it since it began."

The phrase "only political party in Europe" indicates the unconsidered nature of the statement. If there is anything in it at all why should America be excluded? For the rest, our columns give proof of the complete falsity of the assertion.

The I.L.P. position is not, and never was logical. And with regard to the question of armaments, its spokesmen and delegates were justly denounced by Ledebour of the German party at the Copenhagen International Conference in 1910.

When dealing with the anti-war resolution, and Keir Hardie's amendment recommending the general strike to prevent war, Ledebour said:

"I deny the right of moving such a resolution to anyone who in his own country supports the Budget. I deny this right, consequently, above all to our English comrades who, by their support of the Budget, place in the hands of their masters the weapons which later on they can use for purposes of war. How can they take the liberty of proposing the general strike to the parties of other countries who are far more anti-militarist than they happen to be? So long as they support the Budget and supply arms, let them not bring forward more extreme proposals than ourselves."

This sufficiently indicates the sincerity of the I.L.P.'s opposition to armaments.

That the I.L.P. is not Socialist is shown by its object, which is essentially State Capitalism; it is further illustrated by its long program of capitalist reform proposals, while it is undeniably demonstrated by its repudiation of the vital principle of the class war.

The I.L.P. is affiliated to the Labour Party, which is a mere adjunct of the Governmental party. Its Parliamentary representatives are leading lights in the House of Commons. The Labour Party as a whole, and several I.L.P. members of Parliament in particular, are at present engaged in stamping the country in a patriotic recruiting campaign in the capitalist interest.

Is the "B.C. Federationist" aware of these facts or is it because its policy is as confusionist and illogical as that of the I.L.P. that it wishes to pat that Party on the back?

Since the last issue of the Socialist Standard, the complete official report of the I.L.P. Conference has been published and a few points not dealt with elsewhere may be mentioned for the benefit of our B.C. confrère.

The report of the National Administrative Council of the I.L.P. claims in one paragraph a year of firm adherence to principle on the part of the membership. Since by this is meant Socialist principle, however, it is flatly contradicted further on in the same report, for another paragraph says:

"Certain members of the I.L.P. have taken part in the recruiting campaign, and we have received resolutions of protest from some branches. While recognising that such matters as enlistment and the urging of recruiting are matters for the individual conscience, we felt it desirable to draw attention to our recommendation that no part in the recruiting cam-

paign should be taken by branches of the Party."

Obviously the only war in which a Socialist may voluntarily engage, is the war against the capitalist class. To engage, without economic or political compulsion, in the other war for the benefit of the capitalist class of this country, and above all, to engage in a recruiting campaign as these "labour leaders" are doing, is to betray the worker, and violate the fundamental principle of Socialism.

But mark what subtle and "logical" minds these reformers have! To urge recruiting for the capitalist army is against Socialist principle, but everything is quite all right so long as you break Socialist principle as individuals and not as a branch of the Party! Is the "B.C. Federationist" really an admirer of such logic when it refers to the "logical position" of the I.L.P., or is it pulling our leg?

Traitors in every camp, indeed, would welcome this I.L.P. logic with a great shout. The trade union official may henceforth sell the workers he is pledged and paid to serve, and proffer as a sufficient excuse that he betrayed them as an individual and not as an official of the union. Individual members may vote for, support, and fight for, the capitalist class, say in effect the I.L.P. executive, for that is a matter for the "individual conscience," but they "recommend" that such action be not taken by "branches of the Party." Could fatuity go further?

Bruce Glasier is on the same tack. He said: "that the N.A.C. had endeavoured to make quite clear the position of the Party. They said that as a Socialist organisation the I.L.P. could not recruit, nor could a man recruit as a Socialist. If a man recruited he did so as an Englishman or a Scotsman. They had dissociated the Party from the political recruiting campaign, but they had left it to every member to recruit if he thought well to do so, and, if he thinks it his duty, to ask his neighbour to recruit."

Truly the position of the I.L.P. is as clear, and as consistent, as mud.

Here is another sample. In the "unanimous declaration" issued by the conference of "Socialists" of allied nations, at which I.L.P. delegates were present and voted, there occurs the following statement regarding the present war: that the Socialists are "inflexibly resolved to fight until victory is achieved."

Again Bruce Glasier stepped into the breach with the talismanic logic of the I.L.P. when some delegates protested. He said that

"the members of the I.L.P. who were present at the gathering were not there as representing the Party, but as members of the International Bureau."

So there you are again.

Delegate Johnson at the Conference "said he was not altogether for, nor altogether against the resolution" approving the policy of the N.A.C. "What was the policy of the N.A.C.? He had asked several members of the N.A.C. and the answers he had got were delightfully vague." Vague the policy of the I.L.P. probably is, for it obviously cannot, by anyone conversant with the facts, be called either logical or consistent.

The "B.C. Federationist" also asserted that the I.L.P. has consistently opposed the war since it began. Has it? Does our contemporary mean that they have opposed the war in the I.L.P. sense? That is to say, that they have opposed it as a party and supported it as individuals, or opposed it as branches and supported it as members, or again, that they have opposed it as "Socialists" and supported it as Scotsmen or Englishmen? From the confused literature and speeches of the I.L.P. it would be difficult to say; but one or two illustrations may be given.

In the official I.L.P. pamphlet, entitled "How the War Came" the statement occurs: "Obviously the war must be finished now." Is this "consistent opposition" to the war since it began? F. W. Jowett, M.P., chairman of the I.L.P. and president of the Conference, said in his presidential address:

"No one who, on August 3rd last in the House of Commons, listened to Sir Edward Grey's account of the relations between Great

(Continued on p. 78.)

OFFICIAL NOTICE.

All communications for the Executive Committee subscriptions to the *SOCIALIST STANDARD*, articles, correspondence, and advertisements submitted for insertion therein should be addressed, The Socialist Party of Great Britain, 193 Gray's Inn Road, London, W.C., to whom Money Orders should be made payable.

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OURSELVES AND THE

S. L. P. OF AMERICA.

It will be remembered that, in recent issues of this journal, we have had occasion to defend, with such vigour as we have at command, the Socialist position against the insidious attack of a certain organisation in America which is seeking to exploit the break-down of the “International” in the present European crisis as a weapon to use against Socialist organisation.

In the “Weekly People” (New York) dated May 1st appears a so-called answer to our criticism. As on the previous occasion when the organ of the Socialist Labour Party of America was moved to defend itself against our attack, it does so by dodging every point brought against it, and by trying to hide under a mere repetition of its threadbare assertions and a cloud of cheap ridicule. Not one of the several arguments directed against the S.L.P. of A. is fairly and squarely met. They are dismissed in three lines as “misquotations, misrepresentations, and misinterpretations,” thus being conveniently vanquished by a trio of lies.

It is not to be wondered at that those who speak for the S.L.P. of A. are afraid to tackle our arguments, afraid to correct our “misquotations,” to smash our “misrepresentations,” to expose our “misinterpretations.” To attempt to do so would promptly land them on the “tanglefoot.” An “argument” like the following (“Weekly People,” May 1st) is the highest they can rise to:

- “1.—Socialism means industrial government.
- “2.—Industrial government implies . . . the wiping out of the Political State.
- “3.—The wiping out of the Political State implies the wiping out of . . . political departments and sub departments.
- “4.—The wiping out of political departments implies the coming into existence of industrial departments. . . industrial government comes into being.”

Their fourth, it is seen brings them back to their second, and then they are forced to go the round again and again till the moon turns green, and without ever getting any “forwards.” May we be saved from all such giddy whirling-ga!

We have not the slightest intention here to go over the old ground again. The “Weekly People,” as befits the organ of weakly people, shirk our arguments under cover of charges which they cannot substantiate with even the merest trace of evidence. But it is they who are forced to descend to misrepresentation, as we shall show.

Those who know the history of our party, or who have studied our literature, know very well

that we have always insisted that the working class must organise both politically and economically. We have never shifted our ground upon that point. Yet the “Weekly People” persist in raising against us the argument that a movement is, “if organised politically only, in no position to put through the demands of Socialism,” and complete their misrepresentation by declaring after this: “We meet the ‘Standard’s’ issue squarely.”

The S.L.P. of A. can raise no issue with us on that point. If they or their spokesmen wish to meet us squarely they have got to support Industrial Unionism against economic organisation on class lines on the one hand, and unclass-conscious organisation against class-conscious organisation on the other. That is the position if our American opponents wish to come to grips—which they do not.

Now let us take the “Weekly People’s” latest statements and see what they amount to. The first of the numbered assertions they fling at our heads is:

“1.—Socialism means industrial government—the working class to manage the industries, in its own behalf, of course.”

What interpretation are we to place upon this which will not draw down upon us the charge of misinterpretation? We can only see that “industrial government” means control by industries, while the “working class to manage the industries” means just what it says. This brings us to the topey-turvy position that the industries (or those engaged in them) are to govern the class—the parts are to govern the whole! This is curious, but that it is the only possible interpretation is shown by the fact that it fits in with the whole S.L.P. case. For instance, their resolution to the Stuttgart International Congress declared that “the correct form of the economic organisation (industrial unionism) is the embryo, the undeveloped form of future society.” So future society is not to take the form of one organic whole, with a single interest, and for whose well-being industries exist. On the contrary its unit is to be the industry, society is to exist for the industry, the industry is to govern. “The parliament of the land consists of the representatives of the useful occupations of the land” (“Weekly People,” May 7th) because “no one man can represent the varied interests of the different industries which are found within a given territory” (S.L.P. of A.’s Address on the European War). Everywhere confirmation of the interpretation we have put upon our opponent’s declaration that “Socialism means industrial government.”

We hold that Socialism means nothing of the kind. To say that “industrial unionism is the embryo, the undeveloped form of future society” is to make a statement that in itself is unintelligible. One has to interpret it. If it means that future society is to shape itself upon or grow out of industrial unionism (and if it does not mean this it is mere chaotic babbling) then it is easily shown to be wrong. It denies the fundamental basis of Socialism, which is common ownership of the means of production and distribution. It is from this common ownership that future society will shape itself, and therefore it will shape itself on social lines, not on industrial lines. Common ownership is the stable condition of democratic society; industrial division is not necessarily so. There is no direct evidence that, with the improvement in the means of production, the “artificial barriers” of industry—division of the people into workers in specific industries—will not be wiped out. Be this as it may, man will take his place in future society as a social cell—as he does in present society—not as an industrial unit. His position as an equal with the other social cells will be vouchsafed by his right in common ownership, not his standing as an industrial unit—he might be incapable of taking any part in industry, and what would be his standing under “industrial government” then? His needs as a social cell will be of paramount importance—not his needs as an industrial unit. This must necessarily translate itself into social needs—the needs of society.

What, then, becomes of the statement that “Socialism means industrial government”? What, indeed, becomes of the whole Industrial Unionist argument?—for it all rests upon the

fallacy that the society of the future will be subservient to the industries—that industrial man will be superior to social man—that the means will be greater than the end.

For industrial division can only be a means to an end. That end under common ownership will be the utmost efficiency in the satisfaction of the social needs. When, therefore, the S.L.P. of A. say that the “parliament of the land consists of the representatives of the useful occupations of the land,” presumably because, as they say elsewhere, “no one man can represent the varied interests of the different industries which are found in a given territory,” they are in effect declaring that in the future society industries will not exist in the social interest, but in the interest of those occupied in them!

As being closely connected with the same train of argument we may take the statement numbered 4 in a different section of the reply to our attack:

“As political units, furthermore, the working class is not conversant with the needs of industry,—‘citizens’ as such do not understand the problems of industry; as industrial units the working class is thoroughly at home in those affairs.”

The truth is, of course, that future society will demand that the highest consideration be the needs of society, not of industry. It is as social units that the people will understand the social needs. The industrial unit, whatever he may know, as such, of the problems of industry, knows nothing of the needs of society. Society will therefore set him to solve the “problems of industry,” but it will be society that will control.

Another point. Our opponents say: “Such is the Socialist Party of Great Britain, with its piping for ‘class-conscious’ organisation only, and laying its all upon the political Movement.” Apart from the lie that the S.P.G.B. lays its all on the political Movement, the statement contains a sneer at class-conscious organisation that definitely reveals its anti-Socialist character. Earlier in the same article we are told: “And yet class-consciousness by no means teaches the working class anything about the facts of industrial organisation as here outlined.” This is a plea or a justification for an unclass-conscious organisation on the economic plane. But class-consciousness—the knowledge of the working-class position in society and the working-class mission—does teach that it is just as necessary for the class moving toward their object on the economic field to do so intelligently and with understanding—class consciously, that is—as it is for them to be so fitted and equipped on the political field.

Now to get back to the original point—the reason of the collapse of the International. Our American opponents say in their leading article of May 1st, that such a movement should have presented the ruling “classes,” when war was threatened, with “scores to settle at home with the working classes instead of being permitted to send those working classes abroad against each other.”

We have pointed out before now that part of the programme of the International was to take just such action as that indicated above. Without prejudice to our right to criticise such policy we ask, why was no attempt made to carry it out? Something was lacking. What was it? Let the “Weekly People” answer.

“To allow of a movement doing that, however, it must be educated and organised upon a different basis from that which the European Movement was educated and organised upon. None of the false doctrine of nationalism must be allowed to permeate its ranks.”

We thank our opponents for that statement. It is so much more satisfactory for them to be condemned out of their own mouths than out of ours. The Movement is to be organised both politically and economically, and, mark this: “None of the false doctrine of nationalism must be allowed to permeate its ranks.” That means that we were quite right when we stated that the International collapsed because it was not founded on class-consciousness—for only class-consciousness can banish the “false doctrine of nationalism,” by teaching the workers the world-wide unity of interest of their class. It

means, moreover, that the unclass-conscious industrial organisation which the S.L.P. of A. are attempting (the “Weekly People” itself tells us “class-consciousness by no means teaches the working class anything about the facts of industrial organisation as here outlined”) must reveal its fatal weakness in a collapse as complete as that which has overtaken the International Movement. In face of this demand of the S.L.P. of A., we may still go on with our “piping for class-conscious organisation only,” as the only kind of organisation, on the political or the economic plane, that can ever be of any use in the struggle for the emancipation of the working class.

CAPITALIST ECONOMICS.

“ELEMENTARY PRINCIPLES OF ECONOMICS” by Richard T. Ely and George Ray Wicker (America). Revised and adapted for English Students by L. L. Price, M.A. London: Macmillan & Co. 4s. 6d.

To the working-class student who has begun to free himself from the mental bondage of capitalist teaching, the admissions of some of the agents of the master class often come as a surprise. This surprise sometimes has the effect of obscuring his view of the relative value of the other statements, made by these agents, and so leading to unsound or even false conclusions.

This is seen in the attitude adopted by the rank and file of the Labour Party, Clarion organisations, the so-called independent labour party, etc., when some capitalist supporter happens to admit the existence of evils that stand out clear enough for any child to see. These supporters are at once hailed as “advanced,” or even as “Socialists,” when not the faintest real ground can be found for such a claim. The worker who has a firm grip of the essentials of Socialism, however, sees the matter from another standpoint. He knows that the development of capitalism forces forward certain changes (accompanied by new evils) that call for some regulation on the part of the masters. These admissions are, to him, evidences of the changes, signs of the development; but in no way do they mislead him into fancying the makers of these admissions are Socialists. He always applies the touchstone of Socialism to their views and actions on fundamental matters, and usually finds that these persons are the more acute and up-to-date of the capitalists’ agents, and that their work is the more misleading on that account.

In the volume before us the authors merely claim that it is an “elementary” text book, and that it therefore does not attempt to go into the difficult and deeper problems on which “there is more or less disagreement among economists.”

The authors “have presented the outlines of theory in the form in which they are to-day most generally accepted by economists.” This, in the preface, gives a warning as to the lines to be followed, for the student can be at once assured that what is “to-day most generally accepted by economists” will be nothing against the interests of the paymasters of those economists—the capitalist class.

Thus among the preliminary remarks a criticism is given on the idea of “natural” rights, and we are told:

“The right of private property, for instance, is so fundamental in our modern civilisation that we hardly think of it as the creation of society, maintained only by constant vigilance on the part of the State, and subject even now to slow and gradual modification. Still less, perhaps, has it ever occurred to most of us that the right is open to question.” (Page 9.)

The historical sketch in the early pages of the work is, despite some glossing over of important facts, surprisingly good both for the amount of information contained in a small space, and for the recognition by the authors of the formation of the capitalist and working classes as a result of the establishment of capitalism, though there is—in contradiction to so much that is accurate—the childish remark on page 28 that Fishing Tribes in the primitive days “naturally form larger accumulations of capital.”

The origin of chattel slavery, as a substitute

for cannibalism, when the prisoners of war were put to till the soil instead of being eaten is well dealt with.

When we reach the section dealing with the Industrial Stage several important admissions are made. Thus we are told that “Now we have two distinct industrial classes with interests that seem irreconcilable, and between them is fixed a gulf which in an old Society comparatively few can hope to cross.” (P. 44.)

Note the guilelessness of the “seem” in above. We are only too well aware how utterly irreconcilable they are and must be because of their fundamental opposition.

Still more guileless is their further remark that under the present system “the employer has furnished materials and machinery and has assumed the risk of loss. He must be paid.” (Page 45.)

Where did the employer obtain these “materials and machinery”? He did not construct the latter or wrest the former from Nature’s grip. These things were done by members of the working class. Yet the capitalist owns them and “must be paid” for allowing other workers to use them. How these things exist and persist we are not told. Perhaps it is one of the points of “more or less disagreement” left for the advanced student. But we are also told that while the modern employer takes all the product he gives the workmen “not the actual product of their labour, but a stipulated wage which is represented to be an equivalent.” (Ibid.) If the wage is the equivalent of the product whence the amount by which the employer is “paid” for allowing the workers to work? Perhaps it is explained by the fact that the wages are only “represented” to be equal to the product.

A Protestant beginner in this subject may be somewhat shocked to find—that the more advanced student has discovered—that the continuance of fast days in the Elizabethan period and after on the old Roman Catholic basis had nothing to do with religion, even though enforced by Acts of Parliament, but was carried on for the purpose of encouraging the fishing industry that formed—and still forms—so important a recruiting area for the Navy. While agriculture was supported because it produced a healthy population which supplied the Army. (Page 68-9.) We are also told that trade “was the motive of Colonial enterprise,” while the wars with Spain, Portugal, Holland and France during the 17th and 18th centuries “were largely economic.” Traffic with the New World across the Atlantic Ocean, and business in India, inspired a policy which furnishes a connecting link between the overthrow of the Spanish Armada and the battle of Waterloo.” (Page 70.) How like to-day!

How necessary is the warning of the Socialist is shown a few pages further on where the enclosure of common land is defended on the ground that it “was imperatively demanded, if sufficient food was henceforth to be raised for the increased population busy about machinery during long hours of work in urban factories.” (Page 75.)

Even an elementary student would ask why were “common” lands only enclosed if the need for food was so great. Why not the deer parks and pleasure gardens of the rich, who could better afford to spare land? Again, in dealing with the notorious conditions based on the employers’ greed for gain that led to the passing of the Factories Acts, it is calmly stated that “They did not consciously, we must hope, appreciate the clash of interests, while the children, the ‘young persons,’ and the women, successively protected by Factory Laws, were powerless to defend themselves.” (Page 85.) Such an enormous demand for hope will drive the price above the war limit. In the case of the pauper children employed in the factory hells we have the significant admission that the “regulation by the State of the distressing conditions of their employment was prompted not so much because it was the fulfilment of an obvious duty as on account of the serious danger to the health of the neighbourhood caused by the life they were obliged to lead.” (Page 86.)

Of course, it is absurd on the part of the Socialist to say that the remark that the children were “forced to lead” such lives is a complete admission of the slavery of these children.

But the authors are clearly entering on dangerous ground when dealing with the cause of the “popularity” of the economists of that time, as Smith, Malthus, and Ricardo. The New Economics “was at once suggested by, and offered a rational explanation of, the new order of affairs introduced by the Industrial Revolution,” and this Economics “was in this way as much a product of the age as were the factories, the machinery, the canals and railways and the banks.” (Page 96.) If this was true then, why is it not true now? Does any so-called orthodox economist dare to deny that the capitalist system is the best the world has ever seen, even though a few reforms here and there, cautiously and slowly introduced, might bring about improvement?

None that I know of dare deny that, and for the simple reason that he would lose his situation directly he uttered such a denial.

This is clearly shown when we leave the history of the past and enter the theoretical section supposed to analyse present-day conditions. All the old confusion and errors on Value, on Price, and on Use-Value and Exchange-Value (wonderfully jumbled up) are trotted out and resifted with an occasional verbal alteration but no real change. Thus in the discussion of Production a definition is given as follows:

“Production, then, we may define as the creation of utilities by the application of man’s mental and physical powers to the physical universe, which furnishes materials and forces. This application of man’s powers we call labour.” (Page 135.)

This seems quite clear and simple—as simple, in fact, as the truth that as the working class are the only class applying their powers to production they obviously provide the wealth the masters enjoy. But our authors soon smother this simple fact under a cloud of words, though they reassert their definition on p. 143, when they admit that capital is derived from the “action of labour upon nature.”

While giving a chapter on the “Law of Diminishing Returns” in quite the orthodox style, the writers of the book admit that “The art of agriculture is constantly improving as a result of invention and the discovery of better methods and processes, and every improvement makes it possible to secure a greater crop without greater expenditure; in other words, every such improvement pushes forward the point of diminishing returns.” (Page 148.) What value there is in this precious “law” in face of such an admission is quite beyond the power of any orthodox economist to explain.

Another hoary “chestnut” is trotted out when our authors are dealing with the factor of labour in production. We are told: “labour-saving devices, while they may injure individual labourers, are beneficial to society as a whole, because they enable it to secure greater satisfaction by the same exertion.” (Page 150.) See how true all this is. The workers have the satisfaction of securing shoddy more rotten than before, or foodstuffs more heavily adulterated, while the capitalists have larger profits for their “satisfaction.” Hence the benefit to “society as a whole.”

In defining “capital” our authors give us another instance of the old errors restated, for it is said that capital consists of “those intermediate products which are used for the purpose of further production” (Page 155.) As Marx pointed out long ago in his “Wage Labour and Capital,” this definition is as good as the one describing a Negro slave as “a man of the black race.” For if the definition is correct, then capital has existed ever since man used any implement to aid him in obtaining a living. Then capital existed in the days of primitive savagery! But how comes it, if this is so, that “Now we have two distinct industrial classes”? The two statements cannot both be correct, for the one clearly contradicts the other. Not until, and only when, the means of production are owned by one class and used to extract surplus-value from the labour power of the other class do these means of production become capital, and no other definition will stand analysis on anything approaching scientific lines.

Another childish fallacy is the one borrowed from Bohm-Bawerk that the function of capital is “the substitution of roundabout methods of

production for directness" and that "Roundabout methods are almost without exception more efficient than direct ones, but these methods require tools and machinery and a lengthened period of production." Here we have not only a fallacy, but a contradiction, for if the method means a "lengthened period of production" how can it be "more efficient"? Its glaring stupidity is shown by the fact that goods of all sorts are turned out to-day in enormous quantities, at amazing speed, in all directions. The "period of production" for each article or unit of quantity has been not lengthened, but tremendously shortened, but it takes a "professor" of economics to beat the bat in blindness.

A great display is made of the valuable qualities of the "Entrepreneur" or "Captain of Industry," whose function we are told on page 164 "has become of the utmost importance in modern society, and seems to be growing with every increase in the complexity of industrial organisation"; while on page 165 we read: "On account of the magnitude of business transacted under this form [of business companies] it often happens that the functions of entrepreneurship are divided, the shareholders owning, controlling, and bearing the risk, but committing the active management to elected directors, and, through the directors, to hired superintendents and managers." (Italics mine.) Apparently the "utmost importance" of the "entrepreneur" (these French words sound so superior, you know) consists in his ability to be "hired," like any other wage-slave.

Another useful admission is made by our authors when dealing with the advantages of the division of labour. They say: "It has therefore happened that a large proportion of modern inventions have come from the brains of workmen." (Page 171.)

But it is on the subject of Value that the greatest confusion prevails, and necessarily so, as a clear understanding of this factor demolishes all the claims of the capitalist to his "interest" and "profit."

Firstly we are told that two distinct but closely related ideas of Value are named "subjective value" and "objective value"; then that "utility is the power to satisfy wants," while "subjective value is the power to excite desire" and is determined by being "utility under a condition of scarcity." (Page 100.) Also we are told that "objective value, or exchange value, is simple . . . it is the quantitative ratio in which goods or services are exchanged" (ibid). Quite simple. But how is it determined? Here we are at once in a fog. We are asked to look at a market where eight buyers meet eight sellers and where the buyers have one range of prices and the sellers another. After juggling the sixteen persons and their prices round once or twice we reach the conclusion that "the market price is an equilibrium between the existing state of the supply and the existing state of demand." (Page 190.) Charming! The market price is the price prevailing in the market. It would take a bold person to deny the profound truth of this, though an ignorant man may ask what decides the point of equilibrium when supply and demand are equal.

Some attempt is made to skim over this awkward point in dealing with "cost of production," when the question is put: "Why cannot bakers, for example, sell bread for much less than sixpence a loaf?" There are two possible answers: They might in some cases prefer to be idle rather than work for less, or they might feel that they were sacrificing the opportunity of making something else for which there are wants equally urgent." (Pages 191-2.)

This is vague enough, and the further analysis as to the costs forming the margin of production is no clearer. We are told that the "greatest" or "marginal cost of producing that supply which will be in equilibrium with the existing demand" (p. 194) is the determining factor in freely-produced goods, and finally we reach the definition that "value is determined on the side of demand by the marginal utility, and on the side of supply by the marginal cost of production." (Page 199.) This is the last word on Value in general. How "marginal utility" can be compared with "marginal costs of production" we are not told—for the simple reason that it is impossible to compare such things in a measurable manner.

The old confusion between use-value (or utility) and value (or exchange-value) is still as

glaring as ever, though further confused by the jargon of "marginal" and "marginal" that so beloved of Marshall and the Fabians. Nor are we given any analysis, however elementary, of the "costs of production," though some "frictional elements" are briefly considered. And wisely do our authors avoid analysis. A correct analysis, even if very brief—such as Marx's "Value, Price, and Profit"—would be too enlightening to the wage slaves, and so must be avoided or fogged.

Monopolies are handled rather carefully which is not at all surprising in a book which was originally written for America, where the latest thing in monopoly, the Trust, flourishes and controls—though the statement that "all intellectual achievements are in part a social product" (p. 201) may be used either to defend capitalist society against the monopolist, or, on the other hand, to defend the Trust or monopolist against the inventor.

The question of Money is fairly well dealt with from the Gold Standard point of view, though the usual chaos as to the "value" of money is maintained.

J. F.
(We are compelled to hold over the completion of this review.)

("Where the I.L.P. Stands"—Continued.)

Britain and France could "search his heart" as Sir Edward Grey invited his hearers to do, and come to any other conclusion than the one Sir Edward himself announced as being his own conclusion, viz., that Great Britain was bound in honour to go to war if France were dragged into war by her alliance with Russia.

"It has been said that the I.L.P. holds the view that, notwithstanding the circumstances binding Great Britain to France and France to Russia, the Government ought to have declared for neutrality; I do not accept this statement as a correct representation of the position of the I.L.P. For my part, at all events, I agree that the Government was in honour bound by its secret understanding with France to declare for intervention."

That is how the I.L.P. opposes the war! It was also stated at the Conference that the following sentence in the declaration of Socialists of allied nations was inserted at the instance of Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, who is an I.L.P. Member of Parliament:

"The invasion of Belgium and France by the German Armies threatens the very existence of independent nationalities, and strikes a blow at all faith in treaties. In these circumstances a victory for German imperialism would be the defeat and destruction of democracy and liberty in Europe."

Nor is this all. A plain resolution pledging the I.L.P. to opposition to any capitalist war failed to obtain the support of the delegates at their conference and had to be shelved, to save appearances, by means of the "previous question."

One delegate opposed it because, if adopted by the I.L.P.,

"it would weaken its general criticisms of the Government and of foreign policy. The public would accept the Party as holding a certain philosophy, and would not pay serious attention to its propaganda."

This delegate is probably correct. By the adoption of such resolutions his party might be suspected by the powers that be of being really Socialists. That would never do. Their boasted influence with the Government, their flow of legacies from maiden ladies, as well as their Nonconformist and Liberal support, would suddenly fall from them.

Verily, with all due respect to the opinion of the "B.C. Federationist," it is quite certain that the logic of the I.L.P. is a negative quantity, and that the consistency of its policy is only discovered in the persistence with which it has, since its formation, violated the Socialist principle and betrayed the working class.

The facts demonstrate that The Socialist Party, during the present crisis, as in the past, is the only party in this country to maintain the logical and consistent Socialist position and policy. Will the "B.C. Federationist" please note?

F. C. W.

A LOOK ROUND.

At a time when the capitalist Press—Liberal and Tory alike—are engaged in a stupendous campaign for the purpose of obtaining likely recruits to assist in the slaughter of their fellows on the Continent, it is somewhat refreshing to take a peep into the dim and distant past. Before unearthing a few extracts from our masters' periodicals, it is well to keep in mind the various adverts. which we see all around us: "Your king and country need you"; "Is your conscience clear?"; "What will you say when your boy asks what part you took in the great war?" etc. To-day, as always, the workers are vitally necessary to the master class, and so we find their paid agents and hangers on using every device to enlist the support of the workers to "crush the German hordes."

A few years ago when conscription was "in the air" a radical paper devoted a leading article to the subject, half a column of which was occupied in stating that this form of military service was obnoxious to the working man. Knowing the short memory of the average "horny-handed son of toil," let us quote fully:

"The conditions of life among British workers precludes them from taking any interest in their country. Their whole time is spent in making sufficient money to keep them alive. Millions of their number exist on the edge of the abyss of pauperism. During this exceptionally prosperous year there have never been less than 300,000 men and women out of work."

Men, women—and children, too, to our eternal shame—are awaked nearly to death in factories for wages which do not provide them with a sufficient quantity of the actual necessities of life. Luxuries they dare not dream about. Under our present system, workers' lives are wasted as recklessly as they are ever wasted on the field of battle. A shunter on the railway runs thirty times more risks than a soldier did in the South African campaign. In 1911 there were 4,306 workmen killed and 167,000 injured. [This in the piping time of peace.] Ponder on these figures and then try to imagine what the average workman who daily runs the risk of losing his life or limbs must think when he is asked to vote for compulsory military service, so that he may help to repel a foreign invader. No, it will not do. This cry of foreign invasion does not rouse democracy. The democrat thinks of past wars and wonders what he got out of them. The duty of British Statesmen to-day is . . . to make life worth living for the millions who now exist under sordid or horrible conditions of poverty and filth. Physical degeneration is due . . . to the long hours, the unhealthy surroundings, the congestion of towns, and the steady drain on the stamina of the people due to woman and child labour. Let the Government alter these conditions, give the worker an opportunity to enjoy a decent, rational, human life, make it worth his while and then see whether he is prepared to defend his country."—Reynolds, Dec. 1, 1912.

The foregoing is an illustration of the fact that our masters occasionally permit the truth to leak out. More brutally stated it is an admission of the truth of our contention that the average worker has no property to defend, nor any country to call his own. He is born a wage-slave and dies as such. From early years, when he delivers the milk or the morning newspapers, onwards to the time when he is informed that he is too old, he sees but very little of "our" country of which we now hear so much. The delights of our 20th century civilisation are to be found in early rising, a dash for the workmen's tram or train, then to perform some monotonous round of toil, finishing up with another struggle to return to the "cottage homes of England," and on the way getting a glimpse of "our" country.

Our radical rag-time journalist says: "The democrat thinks of past wars and wonders what he got out of them, and we have wondered, too. We remember having seen a monument with the inscription: 'Soldiers, your labours, your privations, your sufferings, and your valour, will not be forgotten by a grateful country.' But what are the actual facts. We

have before us a collection of Press cuttings, all of a similar character, one of which states that:

"Wearing the Indian Mutiny medal and minus an eye, George Goldsby, aged 84, . . . told a pathetic story of his sufferings. 'You are not very well off now?' suggested Dr. Waldo. And the old soldier silently acquiesced. 'Were you wounded at all?' 'Yes, Sir; four times.' 'I suppose a grateful country has rewarded you. What pension do you get?' 'Ninepence a day, Sir.' The coroner proceeded to enquire how the old man was faring, and the pensioner said that, having paid his rent, he had 4d. a day left of his pension. He augmented this by selling matches. . . . The coroner (to the jury): 'I should think a grateful country should have provided a comfortable home for an old Mutiny veteran like this.'—'Reynolds,' 15.11.14.

During the recent discussion on pensions and allowances our masters' servants in the House gave us an opportunity of measuring their gratefulness to their heroes and their dependents. 'He (Mr. Bonar Law) thought it would be unwise and against the interests of the women themselves to endow widows with so much of the public money that they would never have to work.' He added, 'that after the war every position in employment for which an ex-soldier is suitable shall be given to an ex-soldier.' Mr. Asquith delivered himself of the following: 'He thought it would be unwise to create a class of persons who could live in ease without ever having to work.' Such is the generosity of those who prate about their patriotism. The capitalist class may, in certain directions, find some employment for the ex-soldier with a view to enriching themselves at his expense, as a result of the slight pension which he may be entitled to receive.

With a view to hastening the day when war shall be no more, and peace and plenty shall abound for all, we invite our fellow-workers of this and other lands to study Socialism.

S. W. T.

A PARTY OUTING.

On June 12th, 1904, a few members of the working class, recognising the need for a Socialist party as distinct from those organisations then in existence and claiming to represent Socialism in this country, met together and formed the Socialist Party of Great Britain and gave the grand old men of the pseudo Socialist movement, those who had "borne the heat and burden of the day," an opportunity of exercising their powers of prophecy. After weighty consideration they decided that the Party would not live six months. But, like most of their most learned utterances, they were wrong, and now, after eleven years of strenuous exertion, in the midst of the most frightful upheaval that capitalist society has seen, the Party stands forth as the only organization in this country that has consistently placed the Socialist position before the working class.

This is, indeed, an event that calls for some recognition, and we are not for the fact that our opponents—the master class—have smothered our ordinary political meetings, we should endeavour to utilise the date for a number of meetings at which those toilers who are with us in the fight for Socialism could celebrate the event and announce their determination to proceed with the task undertaken in 1904.

Unfortunately this is denied us, but while yet the columns of the "Socialist Standard" are open to us our readers may be assured that the interests of International Socialism and the international working class will be put forward unflinchingly.

In order that the event may not be forgotten, those members who are able to do so will meet together and spend a day in the country on Sunday, June 13th. All who wish to join us should get into touch immediately with the local Secretary or the Committee at 193, Gray's Inn Road.

It is in such times as this that we realize more forcibly than ever how wide is the gulf between ourselves and the "orthodox," and how necessary association is to nerve us for the fight that is before us.

THE COMMITTEE.

THE ONE VIRILE CLASS.

It is fairly safe to assume that never before in the history of the civilised world has such a profusion of literary slosh been printed as during the present period of human slaughter. The worker is, on one hand, lauded to the skies as a very fine fellow and on the other, roundly cursed as a drunkard and slacker. Thousands of letters bristling with puerility find place in the Press dutifully heaping up the gigantic confusion already created by their professional brethren. Hundreds of oratorical geniuses—so-called—find free expression for their doubtful eloquence; reports of their speeches being eagerly devoured by those whose mental equilibrium, never at any time strong, collapsed quite early on under the extraordinary avalanche. To quote from such mountains of piffle extensively would serve no useful purpose, indeed, it might quite easily lay the present writer open to affront, but no actual apology is needed in introducing just one extract from the "London Mail," dated Nov. 3rd, 1914. It reads: "I suppose foreigners will never quite understand the incurable habit that our soldiers and sailors have of persisting in believing even this frightful war as the biggest bit of fun they have ever enjoyed." The advocates of compulsory military service are having the time of their lives in proving the essential truth of the dictum that "old men love to give good advice because they are no longer in the position to set a worse example."

But it is upon the public platform that one also is enabled to perceive the growing intellectual bankruptcy of the master class with even better results. One good lady who has suddenly found herself famous owing to her relationship to someone of military magnitude, speaking in the North of England, said: "Trust them!" (the great leaders) "They know, we don't!" "They are more clever than we!" Placed alongside reports of the incompetence of certain officers in the early stages of the war, such as Joffres notes on the Mons defeat, the statement suffers somewhat. This delightful "we are it" attitude is, however, very characteristic of the master class. But where, pray, may we find evidence of its expression? I have before me an official circular issued by a State department. In this circular there appears a paragraph headed, "Awards for Suggestions," and details follow explaining how money is distributed for suggestions affecting improvements in plant and economy. This circular is addressed to the whole of the staff. During April, 1915, some 19 suggestions were awarded a total sum amounting to £13. The appeal itself throttles the very life out of our sentimental charmer's prattling remarks: "They know! We don't!" "They are more clever than we!" Birket Foster, whose praises are seldom heard, was born in humble circumstances in the unsalubrious town of South Shields. His water-colour work is truly glorious. One biographical dictionary actually says, "he sketched before he walked." Did not the great Jean Millet, the painter of pastoral subjects, die in poverty, standing testimony to the world of the great versatile ability of the international working class.

Epictetus, the slave Stoic philosopher, had such respect paid to his memory that when he died the lamp by whose light he was wont to study was sold for a considerable sum. Then last but by no means least, we have the cherished memory of the great genius of Treves, Karl Marx. Speaking of Marx, Chambers' Biographical Dictionary says "at the British Museum he acquired his marvellous knowledge of economic literature and the economic history of modern Europe," and later adding, "Marx was a man of extraordinary knowledge which he handled with masterly skill." But 'tis merely part and parcel of the huge game of keeping the intellectually starved proletariat in subjection, these tales of the superior brain force exercised by the master class.

With the certain conviction that the working class are a fitting instrument for their emancipation once they grasp a class-conscious attitude, we affirm our determination to carry on the fight. Renouncing with loathing and contempt all efforts to defile the Socialist cause by the

pseudo-Socialist and labour politicians, we stand now patiently working our way along the road that leads to the Red International.

B. B. B.

JOTTINGS.

Only a short while ago we were constantly informed that our heaven-sent Liberal Party were cutting a new road for the aged poor—"through fields of waving corn." In this connection we notice that Mr. Bowerman, M.P., is in favour of an increase on the present allowance to old-age pensioners as they are "hit by the war on everything they buy." He further states that "a question was addressed to the Prime Minister, but, I regret, his reply was by no means favourable . . . The expense to the State is pointed to as a reason for rejecting the claim."

Doubtless many of "our State pensioners," as Mr. L. George terms them, who left the "house" to spend the evening of their days in the "chimney-corner" will now have to choose between starvation and the house.

* * *

The military pickle now being served up should be the means of arresting the attention of the workers and giving them food for thought. In spite of declarations of truce various sections of the master class are engaged in attacking one another. This reminds us of the old adage, "When thieves fall out," &c.

One organ of the masters, in waxing wrath over the question of recruits, and particularly with regard to the age limit being extended to 40, tells us in a moment of candour that:

"One of the first acts of the Coalition Government must be to remove the present unjust system of obtaining expensive recruits by telling the right kind of man that he must come to his country's aid."—"Daily Mail," 22.5.15.

The "D.M." is, of course, concerned with the £ s. d. part of the business, hence the words "expensive recruits." For we are previously told that "most men of that age (40) are married, and married men ought not to be asked to go to the front while the young slackers and shirkers are left untouched. Hark, ye, my single brethren, your masters want cheap recruits!"

* * *

From another source we cull the following: "There is no room for deadheads. We have suffered long enough for those that we have, and they must be quietly and effectively dropped. . . . The leader we have got [Asquith] the 'brains' must be found."—Reynolds, 23.5.15.

We could hardly go further ourselves.

* * *

We have from time to time referred to the poverty of the working class and to their heroic endeavour to exist in this happy Christian land. That this poverty condition is consequent upon the private ownership of the means of life is seldom seriously challenged. Sometimes our critics think we are apt to exaggerate this poverty. In view of this we, therefore, welcome the following with reference to the Clyde engineers:

"Many of the workmen are drawing bigger pay than they ever did in their lives before, and are able to command luxuries which they could not afford before the war."—"Sunday Chronicle," 23.5.15.

No, we don't think luxuries are the ordinary lot of the Clyde engineers.

S. W. T.

STOCKPORT.

Will those sympathising with our principles living in or around Stockport communicate with TOM SALA, 48 MAYFIELD GROVE, REDDISH LANE, HORTON, from whom all particulars as to joining etc. can be obtained.

SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

HEAD OFFICE:

197, GRAY'S INN ROAD, LONDON, W.C.

BRANCH DIRECTORY.

BATTERSEA.—A. Jones, Sec., 3 Mathew Street, Latchmere Estate, Battersea. Branch meets every Monday at 8.30 p.m. at Laburnum House, 184, High-street, Battersea, S.W.

BIRMINGHAM. E. Jasper, Secy., 74, Murdock-rd., Handsworth, Birmingham. Branch meets at Coffee House, Spicel-st., Bull Ring, 8 p.m. 1st & 3rd Mondays.

CENTRAL.—Membership obtained only through the Executive Committee. Applications should be sent to the General Secretary.

EAST HAM.—Communications to Sec., at Hartley-Ave. School, Wakefield-st., where Branch meets alternate Tuesdays at 8.30 p.m.

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SOUTHEND-ON-SEA.—Communications to J. Bird, 28 Christchurch-rd., Southend-on-Sea. Branch meets alt. Sundays 10.30 a.m. at "Liberty," 6, Hermitage-rd., Westcliff-on-Sea.

STOKE NEWINGTON.—All communications to Secretary, at 10a, Farleigh-rd., where Branch meets every Monday, 8.15.

TOOTING.—All communications to Secretary, 127 Upper Tooting Rd., where Branch meets on Wednesdays at 8.30.

TOTTENHAM.—Communications to the Sec., 224, High-rd., Tottenham, where Branch meets every Monday at 8. Rooms open only on Mon. evening.

WALTHAMSTOW.—D. G. Lloyd, Sec., 48, Badlis-rd. Walthamstow. Branch meets every Monday at 8.30 at the Workman's Hall 84, High-st.

WATFORD.—A. Lawson, Sec., 107 Kensington-ave. Branch meets Wednesdays 7.30 p.m. at Johnson's, 112 High-st. Public discussion at 8.45.

WEST HAM.—All communications to Secretary at Boleyn Dining Rooms, 459, Green St., Upton Park, where Branch meets alternate Mondays at 7.30.

WOOD GREEN.—C. Revell, Secy., 53 Maidstone Rd. New Southgate. From Jan. 11 Branch meets alternate Mondays at 8.30, at School Hall, Brook-rd., Wood Green.

THE POTTERIES.

All sympathisers with the Party living in or about Stoke, Fenton, Hanley, Crewe, and Newcastle-under-Lyme should communicate with

G. BANHAM,

22 FLORENCE STREET,
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for particulars as to joining, etc.

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"Weekly People" (New York).
 "Gaelic American" (New York).
 "British Columbia Federationist" (Vancouver).
 "Civil Service Socialist" (London).
 "Freedom" (London).
 "Cotton's Weekly" (Canada).
 "Appeal to Reason" (Kansas).
 "International News Letter" (Berlin).
 "The Western Clarion" (Vancouver).
 "The Socialist" (Melbourne).
 "Industrial Union News" (Detroit).

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A DEBATE

BETWEEN

J. FITZGERALD, representing S.P.G.B.

AND

Mr. SAMUEL SAMUELS, prospective Conservative candidate for Wandsworth.

Post free 1½d.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY

OF GREAT BRITAIN.

OBJECT.

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community.

Declaration of Principles

THE SOCIALIST PARTY of Great Britain

HOLDS—

That society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master class, and the consequent enslavement of the working class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.

That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce and those who produce but do not possess.

That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

That as in the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind, without distinction of race or sex.

That this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.

That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working-class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.

That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

The Socialist Party of Great Britain, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP.

Those agreeing with the above principles and desiring enrolment in the Party, should apply for membership form to secretary of nearest branch or at Head Office.

MANIFESTO

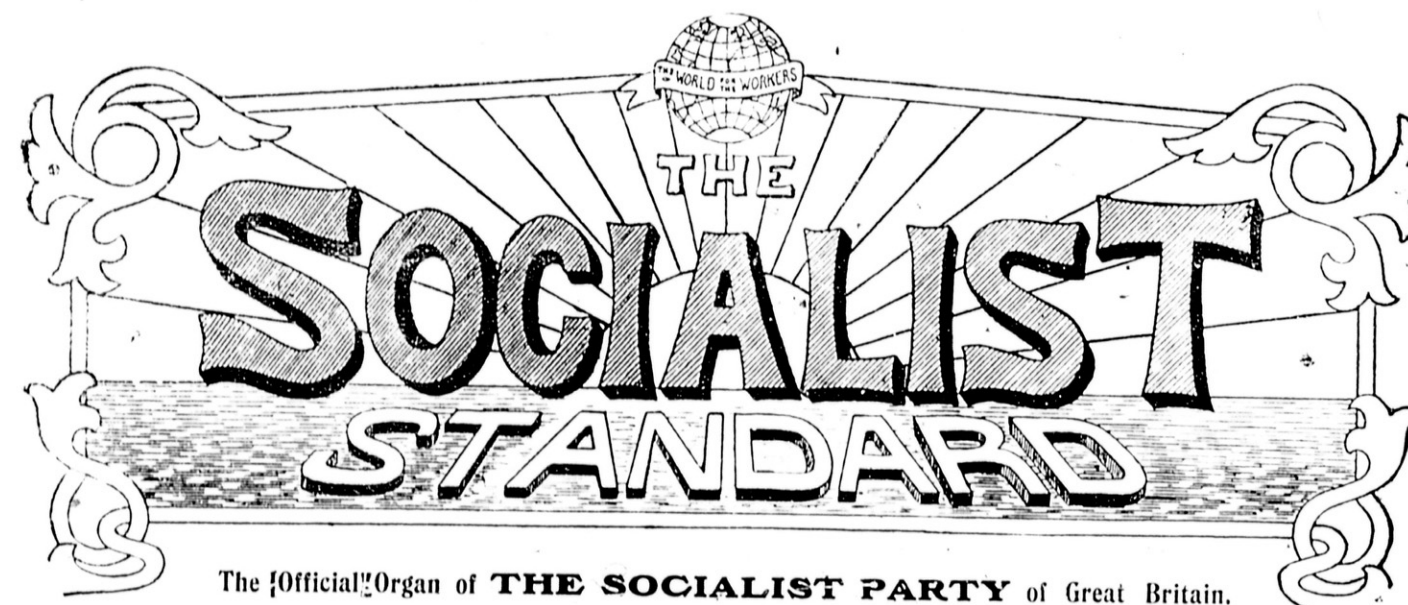
OF THE

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[MONTHLY, ONE PENNY.]

HOPE AND FEAR.

A PHILOSOPHOLOGUE.

Is a collection of sermons issued something like a generation ago, entitled: "Is Life Worth Living?" Dr. Clifford, the Baptist divine, used these words (pp. 3-4, 7th ed.)

"It is not altogether a satisfactory social symptom that such a question has urged itself forward into our discussions in these later years. When a man begins to listen to the beatings of his heart, or asks the physician to apply the stethoscope to test the motions of his lungs, it is very likely there is something wrong with him. . . . And when men coldly speculate as to whether 'life is worth living,' we may be sure that is ominous of a wide-spread despair of the means of human satisfaction."

Coming from a professional optimist these words are significant, and thirty years have added to rather than detracted from the force of their application. Well might we ask the hackneyed question when millions of the "youth and hope" (of civilization rush in frenzy into the jaws of Death. Bright indeed is the philosophy that can carry us in confidence through a reign of terror.

Optimism or pessimism, which? To the average mind to-day, nurtured in metaphysical habits of thought (glossed over, may be, by the superficial "dialectics" of the modern idealist school) there appears to be no alternatives but these, according to which either Good or Evil (note capitals are predominant in human affairs and the universe generally. So it is that, when the monstrous fantasies on which we are from childhood invited to build our hopes have been dispelled by ruthless experience. There seems nothing left but blank despair in the face of overwhelming circumstance—unless in the process of disillusionment new habits of mind have been acquired, and the facts of life more deeply analysed.

Optimism is defined by the dictionary as "the doctrine that everything is ordered for the best"; but what is "the best"? And what power is capable of ordering "everything" therefor? Any *real* standard of "good" or "the best" must be relative to certain particular circumstances of some particular person or persons; and as there are fundamental differences in the circumstances of various persons, so there are radical distinctions in views of what is good or otherwise. To a firm of armament manufacturers war is a blessing; to countless working-class households it is a source of deepest misery. Almighty, indeed, must be the power which can reconcile this contradiction alone, to omit the mention of innumerable others.

There are, of course, people capable of asserting that in the Divine plan of existence the experience of the sufferers is of inestimable moral value; others even go the length of deeming it purely illusory—a figment of carnal sense. But

it is a curious fact that the said sufferers seem to be the last to appreciate these spiritual truths. Shortage of provisions produces an unaccountably painful sensation in the alimentary canal while so sentimental are some humans that the sight of a relation maimed, or the knowledge of his death, is even known to cause unbidden tears to rise.

Nevertheless we are told that "It is easy enough to be happy when life goes along like a song; but the man worth while is the man who will smile when everything goes dead wrong." Unable to destroy the popular consciousness of evil, optimists profess to regard the deliberate cultivation of cheerfulness as a virtue. Carrying this mental attitude to its logical conclusion the working class should grin at a colliery explosion or a railway smash, and find a source of amusement generally in the myriad every-day afflictions the existing order of things compels them to bear. Indeed, the only form of optimism which recognises the necessity of providing something more than this absurdity for working-class supporters is the frankly religious, which offers death as the true solution of all human woes! For of God and Immortality we can know nothing until we are stripped of the limitations of mortal sense, and in these alone, according to the creed, is happiness possible. "All's well that ends well," says the old saw, and assuming the truth of supernatural creeds any amount of suffering is simply part of the Divine plan of ordering everything for the best.

This brings us to a consideration of pessimism. The advance of modern science has had a two-fold effect. On the one hand it has vastly increased the poverty of the producing class and the wealth of those who own the improved means of wealth production; on the other it has destroyed to a large extent the hold upon the mass of society of the supernatural creeds, which, as above indicated, "justify" the optimistic view of life. Hence with "this world" getting more unsatisfactory and "the next" vanishing into thin air, there has arisen a systematic philosophy of unbelief and despair.

That it is not popular with the ruling class is due to two causes: first, it contradicts *their* experience of life; secondly, it is, at least implicitly, a condemnation of capitalism. A closer examination of pessimism, however, shows it to be based upon the same sort of illusion as optimism, i.e., the attribution of universality and absolute permanence to a tendency which is only characteristic of certain peculiar conditions in time and space.

Because there are external forces whose operations, at present uncontrolled by society, work havoc in the lives of the greater part of mankind, it is fallaciously assumed that this always has and always will be the case. According to this creed, the human race is in the grip

of a relentless Fate, whether personal or otherwise we know not, which automatically shatters every hope and nicks at all efforts. Yet the very process of scientific progress in industry gives the lie to this gloom which it produces. It is human genius that brings into being the contrivances for controlling and adapting the forces of nature to human ends. Blind fate cannot resist the ever-increasing encroachment of the torch of knowledge, and once the laws of the operations of the external forces are correctly understood it is but a step to the use of these forces. Harmony with one's environment is the source of happiness; the free and successful exercise of the faculties forms every joy. In so far, then, as the mass of mankind, i.e., the working class, find "life a burden," we must seek the cause in some antagonism between their desires and the conditions wherein they are expected to satisfy them.

The first and fundamental desire of mankind, the working class included, is food. Activity demands energy, which in turn requires raw material. The source of raw material is external nature, but man's environment to-day by no means consists of nature, pure and simple. Social man has built up an intermediate world of objects which are, in a sense, extensions of his faculties for obtaining sustenance from nature—means of production, social organs.

This half human, half natural development has its own laws which must be understood by mankind before their action can be directed to the advantage of all. Otherwise our creation will be our master—in fact, this is exactly the position at the present day. The working class have developed the means of production, but the control thereof is not theirs. The sciences of nature and of man as independent objects have become widely understood, but the science of man's adaptation of nature has yet to be mastered by the bulk of mankind to whom it matters.

This follows from the fact that while the forces of nature exist from time immemorial, the specific economic forces have only within recent years reached maturity. The past two centuries have witnessed an enormous change in the scale of man's control of nature. Production has become manifestly social in character; but as yet mankind blinks the fact, and makes no attempt to control production on scientific, i.e., *social*, lines. Private property in the means of production, a survival of the petty, immature stage of economic development, causes the social nature of these things to manifest itself through competition, with the result that a few climb up on the backs of the many, turning the very scale of production against the producers, filling their own laps with every luxury and reducing their fellows to poverty.

Thus the working class cannot satisfy a single

one of their desires except by permission of the class that owns. Their lack of unity divorces them from their environment. Their ignorance of its nature leaves them at the mercy of the few who can exploit it. Yet as with Nature so with society, knowledge paves the way to control. Socialism, i.e., the social control of social forces, is the scientific, and therefore the only remedy, for working-class suffering. Once the workers know this it would be absurd to assume they will refuse to act accordingly.

Where then do Optimism and Pessimism come in? What is their practical relation to the Socialist movement? Optimism claims that this is the best of all possible worlds. All apparent pains are but the means by which the all-seeing Father secures our ultimate happiness. To attempt to secure it on our own by a social revolution is both impious and unnecessary. The Lord will provide!

Pessimism, on the other hand, bewails our impotence against the hand of fate. Sorrow and death are on every hand, and external forces are stronger than we; to hope to control them is useless. The deepest desires are but a mockery; for happiness is impossible and an illusion. Socialism? Pish! If you abolished poverty tomorrow it would reappear the day after.

In short, both creeds accept the capitalist system as inevitable and necessary. Optimism is simply the endeavour of the ruling class to foist their own smug satisfaction with themselves and their system on to their slaves as the only correct opinion and guide of life. It is rejected by all who have passed through the fires and floods of working-class existence and found it horribly wanting in practical comfort even in spite of previous prejudices in its favour.

Pessimism is but the inevitable reaction based on disappointment in optimism; a despair of capitalism coupled with an ignorance of any means of ending it.

It, likewise, is rejected by all who have analysed the conditions of working class existence discovering that the very forces which in their progress at present accentuate poverty, provide a basis for a system of life in which comfort and happiness shall be the birthright and constant possession of all.

Socialists are well aware that the fulfilment of their object will not abolish the natural pains and penalties of existence. That death must terminate each individual life is a somewhat self-evident proposition; but we see no reason to take refuge in a life beyond the grave as our hope, even though at present the clouds be thick and lowering. Spiritual conceptions from their very nature can have no scientific basis. The very "infinity" of the "faculty" and "object" of faith makes it possible by faith to "believe" anything. The hard facts of existence, however, ultimately prove too strong for such beliefs, no matter how tenaciously they may be held.

But because we reject childish fairy tales of God and immortality we do not, therefore, abandon all "confidence in the worth and serviceableness of human life" as Dr. Clifford asserted we must (p. 4).

We still find ourselves possessed of faculties and desires which seem to demand a material world for their exercise and satisfaction rather than a spiritual fantastic. The limitations against which we chafe are not those of nature, but rather those which have arisen in history from understandable causes capable of being removed by human action. This accomplished we are confident that our lives will rise to a dignified natural level.

At present we find ourselves hemmed in. Our energies must be prostituted to the class who rule.

Since, then, for the nonce, real life is for us impossible, let us seek expression in revolt; in the conscious and deliberate effort to wrench the power from that class which uses it to our detriment, i.e., the ownership of the means of life, secured by political control. This is our only hope; all else is illusion. E. B.

Propaganda is not dead because outdoor meetings have ceased. The backwash of war is already beginning to surge over the country, and many who were deaf can hear our message now, and many who were blind can see to read the "Socialist Standard." Nuff said.

TRAGEDY AND COMEDY

ONCE again the boasted "organising ability" of the master class has been found wanting. After many diverse utterances by politicians and contradictory statements in the Press, a serious shortage of munitions of war in this country is now an acknowledged fact. One leading and influential organ has considerably injured its reputation in certain quarters by coming perilously near telling the truth about the matter. Its readers were much disturbed by such a flagrant departure from its notorious traditions. No doubt some ulterior motive existed for this daring attempt at veracity, but the shock was so unexpected that a large number of the journal's supporters were flabbergasted. The Government very wisely and conveniently collapsed, and the Premier created the office of "Minister of Munitions" in the new Ministry to cover up the muddle. Mr. Lloyd George was appointed to the new post, and his duties suit him admirably. He goes among the munition workers to cajole, insult, or, if necessary, to drive them to increased productivity. Ably assisted by the cringing and hypocritical Trades Union leaders, he is smashing to atoms every vestige of protection the men have been able to secure from the masters. Conditions that have been gained after years of struggling and sacrifice are to be given up. Coupled with the base treachery of the Union leaders, his well-known insidious cunning will probably be sufficient for the success of his mission; but he is fully endowed with the authority to compel the workers to fulfil their masters' requirements. And just reflect for a moment! What are their masters' requirements? Munitions of war. The cumulative efforts of thousands upon thousands of the working class, slaving the maximum possible number of hours at the highest possible speed, are required to produce implements of slaughter. Not something beautiful, something noble; not some luxury. No! To produce instruments of death and destruction for our brothers to hurl against our fellow workers of other lands. How inspiring! How civilised we should feel! What a bloody tragedy!

However grim and relentless a tragedy may be, the element of comedy can seldom be denied. Comedy is remarkably persistent, and will find some means of intruding into the situation. The comic relief in this case is provided by a collection of City "toffs" who have formed themselves into what is called the "Volunteer Munitions Brigade." Perhaps, reader, you have not yet heard of this valiant organisation. In that case be assured that the fault is yours and not theirs, for no opportunity to advertise itself has been missed by the Brigade. Anyway, for the benefit of the uninitiated, the "Volunteer Munitions Brigade" has been formed by a gentleman who is an accountant in the City of London, and its members are mainly recruited from the clerks of the Stock Exchange, Lloyds, Baltic and Insurance Offices. Every Sunday they for sake their collars, cuffs, and spats, don their old clothes, and go to Woolwich Arsenal to make munitions. Of course, although they go to make munitions, it must not be supposed that the Arsenal authorities are such damned fools as to let them try—it is bad enough to send the British soldiers into the field short of ammunition.

One member of the Brigade gives some of his experiences in an interview reported in the "Star and Echo" dated 14.6.15, in which he tells us that the Brigade undertakes the work "ordinarily performed by the more unskilled men and boys." Even though the boys may not possess the requisite mental subtlety, it is to be hoped that the unskilled workmen who would ordinarily be employed will be able to appreciate the patriotic sacrifice and British pluck displayed by these brave fellows who prefer driving them from their positions in the Arsenal to driving Germans from their positions on the battlefield. For, incidentally, it may be mentioned that members of this Brigade are allowed to wear a badge denoting the fact that they are engaged upon Government work, and are therefore ineligible for military service.

The interviewed member further states that his work in the Arsenal "was a fairly hard experience." One cannot help thinking that if the regular Arsenal worker realised the true calibre of his new "mate," the latter would soon find his experience much harder. It is just possible that the "fairly hard experience" of doing boys' work at Woolwich would soon be regarded as less preferable to the experience in the trenches. We Socialist propagandists know the type of individual of which this precious organisation is composed, too well. He is the snob, the superior person, too respectable to recognise his correct social status. He does not understand that his interests are identical with the interests of all workers. To tell him this is to insult him. He is a master's man from the crown of his head to the soles of his feet, and oh! so very, very ignorant. But, after all, he will have to be taught the revolutionary lesson, and will have to learn of his slavery. The task is a tremendous one, fellow workers, so get busy and prepare yourselves! W. H. S.

THE FAILURE OF CO-OPERATION.

THE Co-operative lecturer, when discoursing on the advantages and possibilities of his subject, at trade union, temperance, and other meetings, invariably claims that it is a working-class movement, and the only movement that can solve the poverty problem and abolish capitalism. It can accomplish this, he says, by gradually extending its functions until production and distribution are entirely under its control.

Some idea of the ambitious nature of the co-operative scheme may be gathered from the paper read by Mr. Aneurin Williams at the late congress. Among other things, he said "Their policy must be to spread distributive co-operation over the whole country," and again, "The land was the great source of raw materials and the chain of co-operation would be completed in proportion as co-operators made themselves owners of the sources of raw materials." Of course no one doubts the possibility of their opening a co-operative store in every town, village, and hamlet in the country, or even the adequacy of their resources to "judiciously acquire," here and there, land for building and other purposes. But such imperfect measures as these would not satisfy the mildest member of the Co-op.

Co-operators have always maintained that their principles carried to their logical conclusion would abolish the middleman or capitalist, and this claim has been responsible for a great deal of the support they have received from the workers, who, in many instances have bought their necessities at the local stores when they could have bought them cheaper elsewhere; simply because of the principle they believed to be involved.

If the claims of co-operators as to the possibilities of co-operation are wrong, then those who believe in them are being misled, and, while perhaps entertaining a strong desire to do something to remedy social evils, their energy and desires are wasted. For this reason it is necessary to examine their claims, and the first thing that strikes us is their inability to employ but a very small percentage of their members. Whether it was in the early days when their numbers were small, or to-day on what, in comparison is a gigantic scale, the fact remains that co-operators cannot shut themselves off from the rest of society and produce and distribute for themselves, independent of the capitalists around them. They are dependent at the very outset upon the vast majority of their members being employed in the factories and mines of the capitalist, these, of course, merely constituting the market, where the surplus value extracted from their employees is realised by the shareholders in the ordinary capitalist way.

This brings out clearly the stupidity of the notion that any section of the workers, large or small, can by co-operation, or any other method, form self-supporting communities inside capitalist society.

But quite apart from the Co-op's dependence for its market on wage-slaves employed by capitalists in the ordinary way, co-operation is unable to expand without capital, which, notwithstanding its stereotyped phrase "working-class capital," comes from the only class that has capital to invest.

A movement by workers which proposes to compete with, and oust capitalism from the world's markets is foredoomed to failure, because it can only exist by copying capitalist methods. If the savings of the workers is relied upon—as capital—it is obvious that co-operation will remain insignificant in comparison with capitalism. If, on the other hand, the dominant idea is the rapid increase in bulk of the Society's trade, the necessary capital must come from capitalists and the Society loses at once its working-class character. In short, they must either remain insignificant or become a fully capitalist concern. And the latter is precisely what has happened to the movement. Composed of men imbued with capitalist ideas of trade, and never understanding the working class position, the co-operative movement has been powerless to resist impregnation from the capitalist forces all around it; the workers, whether employees or customers, have no control over it, and wholesale and retail alike are run on the same lines as other capitalist concerns.

The likeness is faithful in every respect; the sordid and repulsive details of the capitalist concern are reproduced in the Co-op, and though ten thousand lecturers wrap it around with the cloak of principle, they cannot hide completely the exploitation and fraud which, finding daylight from time to time, brands the Co-op. Pharisee as well as fraud. So far as wages and conditions are concerned the Co-operative worker is no better placed than the ordinary wage slave; he sells his energy by the day or the week, every precaution being taken to see that he parts with it in accordance with the terms of the bargain, and the terms of the bargain and the price he obtains are, on the average, sufficient to keep him fit; there is no margin worth speaking of for luxuries or to acquire shares in the concern that exploits him.

The Co-operative congress of 1912 congratulated those societies that had adopted the minimum wage scale and "urged that the union should carry on an active campaign until the scale had been adopted throughout the movement. There had been a constantly growing agitation" said Mr. Hibberd "for the movement to be true to its principles and to pay its employees on a footing worthy of the co-operative name." This year Mr. Williams said that "co-operative societies were already great employers of labour, and in wages, conditions, and hours they should be not only equal to the best competitive employers, but as far as possible they should set the pace." From this we can only gather that so far their campaign has not been a huge success; their wage slaves, floundering on or below the line of a bare subsistence wage, can, by no stretch of the imagination, be termed the aristocracy of labour.

A sure indication of the nature of co-operative conditions is the frequency of strikes among their workers, which, generally speaking, only take place when there is more than usual cause for dissatisfaction. When these strikes are in progress there is abundant evidence to prove that the Co-operative worker is just as poor as his fellow worker, who is not sheltered by a boss who carries on a campaign to give him a minimum wage. During the Co-operative strikes of 1913, the conference held at Swindon discussed "instances of unfair conditions of employment, of employees obtaining only one pound a week, upon which they had to maintain a wife and family. Of a young woman who was the first hand in a Co-operative drapery establishment, and who earned only nine shillings a week." This last case leaving us to wonder what must have been the price of those who worked under her.

But it is not only in the matter of exploitation that the Co-operative Societies bear such strong resemblance to capitalist concerns; being forced to compete with the capitalist and small-shopkeeper, they must, in order to maintain their position amongst them, resort to the same methods: lying advertisements, adulteration, and all the other forms of petty cheating, otherwise they find their prices undercut and their trade diminishing. Every concern, including the Co-op, advertises "best quality and absolute purity." But their veracity is seriously impugned and confiding members and customers are rudely shocked when they read in the daily Press:

"For being found in possession of nearly half a ton of diseased pork, some of which was being made up into sausages, the Nottingham Co-operative Society was fined £20 and costs by the local magistrate yesterday."

"The road to hell is paved with good intentions," and the Co-op, in spite of its pious resolutions and proclamations of "cheapness with purity," "no middlemen's profits," "a living wage for its workers," etc., is no better than the rest of the capitalist thieves.

But the chain of evidence showing there is no difference or distinction between capitalist and co-operative concerns was still further lengthened by Mr. Williams at the last congress where we may imagine him in the usual pompous fashion of the capitalist delivering himself of the following:

"Co-operative societies were already great employers of labour, . . . He believed that the future policy of Co-operative Societies towards labour would be more and more a policy of co-partnership."

Co-partnership is admittedly the latest and most effective method of preventing disputes, urging the workers to the highest pitch of speed and efficiency, and at the same time reducing the wages bill. It is the latest crime against the workers; it heaps insult on injury, insult the wage-slave by calling him shareholder, while compelling him to drive his fellow-worker into the ranks of the unemployed, that a portion of the wages thus saved to the capitalist may be paid to him in the shape of dividend or bonus. But co-operators are so deeply involved in the capitalist game that they quite seriously contemplate, without shame, this more thorough exploitation and robbery of the workers.

The principles they voice have been in the melting pot ever since their earliest progenitors—nearly a century ago—died of slow starvation trying to live up to them. To-day they can only urge upon one section of the workers—"the well paid artisans"—to use their savings as capital to exploit the rest. For that is the real meaning of Mr. Williams' statement:

"Co-operative housing was the next greatest field for the development of their movement and for the investment of hundreds of millions of working class capital."

The average man will note, however, not so much the lack of principle involved in this last statement as the absurd remark, "hundreds of millions of working class capital."

But the schemes of Co-operative dreamers be come, if anything, more preposterous and ambitious in proportion as their movement is annexed, and their principles smothered by the capitalist. Like many social reformers, their particular nostrum is a panacea for all social evils, even war. Mr. Williams said:

"It was for Co-operators in this country to keep in touch with Co-operators in other lands, in order to bring about better relations and find a basis for permanent peace."

Thus the Co-operative Societies stand for co-partnership for the workers, dividends for those who find the capital, and a promise to try and find a basis for permanent peace. The same conditions, the same form of robbery and the same promises that we get already from Lever Bros., Rowntree, Furness, and all the rest of the business-like and business as usual capitalist firms.

Co-operation is no remedy for poverty, nor does it even mitigate poverty, for even if it is true that the workers, by its aid, can live more cheaply, it follows that they merely set themselves a lower standard of living, to the advantage of the capitalist, who will reduce wages as soon as he is aware that he is paying more than is necessary to keep his slaves fit for their toil.

But we shall be told that co-operation is good while competition is bad, and that we ourselves have said it. And this is true. Though when we speak of co-operation we mean that real form of co-operation where all will co-operate in the production and distribution of wealth—not for the profit of a few—but for the use of all.

The Co-operative Commonwealth is our objective, and the Co-operative Societies steal our adjectives to boom capitalism in one of its most petty and contemptible forms.

F. F.

"OUR" FAIR INHERITANCE.

"BRITAIN FOR THE BRITISH"

"It was natural and inevitable that many of us who have hitherto thought ourselves citizens of the world, being unable and unwilling to leave our country during the period of the war, should have been surprised by a sudden love of England."

"Indeed, it is one of the good consequences of the present bad conflict that after ten, fifteen, twenty, or thirty years spent abroad at various intervals of our lives in search of health or pleasure we should have been compelled to realise that England is the best country in the world for an Englishman to travel in."

"Greater and grander things there are elsewhere to invite to higher raptures, but since the automobile has penetrated into the deep valleys of Cornwall and Somerset . . . it is good to feel that our beautiful green England, as after all, the fairest land the sun shines upon."

"And as we pass over it on these bright spring days . . . which of us does not tell himself that, as long as there remains one man or woman of British blood above British soil, this England shall be ours—ours and our children's?" Mr. Hall Caine in "Reynolds's," 30.5.15.

If it is one of the "good consequences" of the present bad conflict that those who have been able to spend years abroad in search of health or pleasure, should have been compelled to realise that England is the best country in the world for them to travel in, it would undoubtedly also be a good consequence if those who never journeyed further from their poverty-stricken haunts than to the mine, field, or factory, were made to ask themselves why they should not be partaking of the things that invite to higher raptures. It would be a good consequence if the working class were at last to claim their share of the good things of the earth. For it is obvious that the war, whatever its issue, will not only not lift the working class from their miserable condition, but will leave them in a more precarious position than before.

That the working class is not in our masters' schemes, except to afford the latter riotous luxury and, in time of war, providing food for cannon, is abundantly evident, but we have to thank Mr. Hall Caine for bluntly stating the fact. No worker who has been the dupe of other capitalist agents could possibly be deceived by the above. We are not left in the dark as to the meaning of "Britain for the British" and "ours." Indeed, by making it perfectly clear that by "we" and "us" are meant those "citizens of the world" whom only a world-war prevents making their accustomed *voyages de plaisir*, and by thus ignoring and showing his contempt for those who spend their lives in labouring for capitalist profit, the author assures that "ours and our children's" will not be understood to include the working class. And in this is the difference between the above and most of the ordinary "appeals" that the "ours" is openly identified with the possessing class, and unmasks the professional scribbles for the vulgar satellites of the bourgeoisie that they are.

But even if one or other of Capitalism's servants did not occasionally, in a momentary return to honesty, make it clear that by "the interests of the nation" are to be understood the interests of their paymasters, the capitalist class; even if our masters themselves did not from time to time strikingly proclaim that their interests are far from being identical with those of the workers (instance: the employers' £50,000,000 scheme to smash strikes), even if the capitalist Press, pulpit, and platform never departed from their ordinary game of bluff and hypocrisy, that worker must be dense indeed whose suspicion is not aroused at the mere assertion that the powers that be are concerned about the welfare of the working class. Have the master class of Britain, for example, ever been concerned about the millions of English people who have been rotting in their slums? While there are thirty-nine million poor in the country (Sir Chiozza Money) and one-third of them are continually on

(Continued on p. 87.)

Yet the "Express" used to say that what it now advocates was utterly impracticable, and the deadliest foe to efficiency! It was said to be an impossibility for a government to take over and organise such vast and complex indus-

The sad truth is that under cover of national necessity the chains of servitude are being fastened more firmly upon the limbs of the worker. Nevertheless there is no room for pessimism. Economic development proceeds apace. The ruling class, in the pursuit of its interests, refutes its own arguments, eats its own words, and, in very truth, helps dig its own grave. Socialism is ever more clearly demonstrated to be both possible and necessary. Every fresh phase of capitalism throws into relief the antagonism of classes, and indicates the need for the working class to become masters of the State, and use its supreme economic power for the liberation of human kind from wage slavery. And the day of that liberation may come sooner than we now dare to think.

Will those sympathising with our principles, living in or around Stockport communicate with TOM SALA, 48 MAYFIELD GROVE, REDDISH LANE, HORTON, from whom all particulars as to joining etc. can be obtained.

It is to be hoped that many of those dockers, who in 1912, at the meeting in Southwark Park, voted against returning to work and tore down the notices ordering them to do so, and further

This latest move of the Labour Party is consistent with their usual tactics of acting as a hindrance to the Government by means of a series of special fire brigade motions to the late Government, moving amendments and voting against

The suggestion that "What is needed is a co-ordination of the two principles—the principle of private and of public business," is rather late, as most of the "public" business to day is conceived and carried on in the interests of the master class, who have arranged the "co-ordination" to a fair degree of efficiency.

When such acute agents of the masters can

find no better objections to Socialism than these we can realise how strong our case really is. Not a single essential point of that case is refuted, nor is any real error shown; and the so-called points are in each instance far more strongly applicable to the present system than to any other.

As stated in the reviewer's opening remarks, the admissions of our opponents show how far our ideas and education are spreading in all lands. When a sufficient number of the workers grasp the truth of the Socialist case and decide to take control of the means of life for themselves, they will look back with amusement upon the laboured and befogging efforts of the capitalist economists to explain the system of wealth production and distribution, and with still more amusement to the feeble objections and difficulties now urged against Socialism. J. F.

FIGHTING IT OUT WITH THE "WEEKLY PEOPLE."

In the May issue of this journal the present scribe attacked the policy of the Socialist Labour Party of America. To this attack the organ of that party, the "Weekly People," has offered a reply in two instalments. The spokesman of the S.L.P. of A. affects surprise at the charge which was levelled at his organisation, and, of course, resorts to his old wheeze—his critic has "his own conception of class-conscious organisation, according to which he tests the S.L.P. and finds it wanting."

Unfortunately for the S.L.P. case, however, the "Weekly People" scribbler goes on to give the S.L.P. conception of class-conscious organisation, which is as follows:

"class-conscious organisation means that form of organisation which recognises and is based upon the fact that society is divided into two distinct economic (!) classes, with interests diametrically opposed. These two classes are the working class and the employing class; or, the working class and the capitalist class. Between the two an irrepressible struggle goes on. There is, in the nature of things, no bridging of this struggle; it can only end by the working-class abolishing the capitalist system, which is responsible for both classes, and by assuming control over the affairs of production in the interests of all the workers in the land. Class-conscious organisation of labor means the recognition of these facts and acting in accordance therewith."

Though, broadly speaking, this statement is correct, it is carefully worded so as to dodge the essential point that CLASS-CONSCIOUS ORGANISATION IS THE ORGANISATION OF THE CLASS-CONSCIOUS. The reason of this is that to insist upon class-consciousness in those they would organise means that the S.L.P. must educate those people, and this in turn means that the time for such organisation has not arrived, since the number of class-conscious workers is so small that if organised they would be utterly incompetent to carry on the functions of those organisations the Industrialists seek to displace—the trade unions, or as the S.L.P. of A. will have it, craft unions.

But if the conception of class-conscious organisation quoted above is calculated to obscure the awkward and unwelcome point which abolishes all chance of mushroom-quick "success"—the point that that alone is class-conscious organisation which organises the class-conscious—it offers no ultimate loophole for escape from the position, since its very terms themselves lead inevitably to the same awkward conclusion.

"Class-conscious organisation," we are told, "means the recognition of these facts and acting in accordance therewith." Can the S.L.P. of A. spokesman tell us who but the class-conscious is going to recognise the facts he tabulates—the facts of the class division of society, the antagonism of interests between the master class and the working class, the class struggle, and the need for revolution? And who, will he tell us, is capable of "acting in accordance therewith" save he who does recognise those facts?

Our opponents' definition of class-conscious organisation, therefore, quite clearly commits them to the organisation of class-conscious

workers only, whether upon the political or the economic plane—that is, of course, unless they are prepared to forswear class-conscious organisation, which, apparently, they are not.

When, therefore, the "Weekly People" asks: "Does our friend, A.E.J., dispute this presentation of the case and deny that the Socialist Labour Party meets the test in this respect," their friend A.E.J. answers no to the first portion of their query, and yes to the last.

For the Socialist Labour Party have organised an Industrial Union, and though they would doubtless claim that it is "based upon the fact that society is divided into two classes," and so forth, they dare not contend that it is an organisation of the class-conscious, or that they have ever tried to make it such.

But it is not only according to their own "presentation of the case" that the S.L.P. of A. stands condemned. In dealing with a point in my previous article the "Weekly People" says: "Organisation upon lines of industry does not necessarily divide the workers as a class . . ." Whether it necessarily does so is not at all the point. In the silly circular which the S.L.P. of America sent to the parties affiliated to the International Socialist Bureau (which circular was the starting-point of the present discussion) it was claimed that "the correct form of economic organisation (industrial unionism) is the embryo, the undeveloped form of future society." The circular then says, "To illustrate." That is a definite announcement that what follows is to illustrate the point that "industrial unionism is the undeveloped form of future society." And in what follows is contained this statement:

" . . . no one man can truly represent the many and varied interests of the different industries which are to be found within a given territory. To represent any one of these industries in the interests of those actively engaged and producing therein, one must himself be engaged therein, understanding the needs and requirements of such interests."

Words could not state more definitely that in the "future society" as conceived by the Industrial Unionists, there cannot be unity of interest in the community, but that those engaged in each industry will select their champions to struggle for their various interests—as, indeed, they must do so long as those interests are not in unity. On these grounds I repeat that organisation on industrial lines as outlined in the Socialist Labour Party's circular, does divide the workers.

The Socialist Labour Party's claim that

"Industrial unionism, by organising the workers along the lines of industry, no more creates antagonism or destroys class solidarity than does the political organisation, which organises the workers along the lines of political sub-divisions, political districts, sections, branches, etc."

is fatuous in face of the contradictory claim that the industries are to be represented in the interests of those actively engaged and producing therein ("To represent any one of these industries in the interests of those actively engaged and producing therein . . ." S.L.P. circular to the Affiliated Parties of the International Socialist Bureau. Italics mine.) It is quite clear that such representation is not founded upon a social phase in which we are alike, but one in which we are all different. Such organisation if it could exist, would be quite capable of carrying the strike into the new society. Its absurdity is revealed in the reflection that it would not embrace the whole of the people, for those who had not reached the age to be "actively engaged and producing therein," and those who had passed that age, and those who were incapable, would have no representation and no rights. If this would not be dividing the workers teach me the meaning of the word.

No, organisation by industries as the "undeveloped form of future society" will not wash. Industries may be a transitory phase. Industries will never embrace all the people. The "needs and requirements of the industry are not a matter for the industry alone, but are a part of the social needs, and can, in the last resort only be satisfied through the co-ordination provided by the control of social man.

On the other hand, the permanent feature of democratic society is common ownership of the

means of life, which gives equal (though conditional) rights to all, whether user or not. Control based upon this fact takes cognizance of every social need, including the "needs and requirements of industries." The representatives of society elected to control in the interest of society may be only the "tailors, goldsmiths, weavers, carpenters, shoemakers, potters, salesmen, glaziers, cigar-makers, and all manner of other workmen" concerning whom the "Weekly People" ask (May 8, "Socialism for Beginners,") "what on earth most of these know about the railroad industry?" but they would know what society wanted of the railways, and would appoint or cause to be appointed men (or women) having the requisite technical knowledge, to achieve the desired result.

To take up for a moment the other side of our opponents' unhappy illustration, what would the representatives of the workers in the railway industry as such know of the higher question of the social demands upon the industry they represented—or what would they care? To find an instance in current events, what do those in the railway service know of the needs of the army which they are transporting supplies for? The first thing the Government had to do when war broke out was to place the railways under the control, as far as was necessary, not of men who understood "the needs and requirements of the industry," but of those who understood the "needs and requirements" of the military.

One other point before leaving this side of the question. The S.L.P. of A. spokesman says:

"To contend as A.E.J. contends, is tantamount to saying that class-conscious political organisation is not founded upon the class struggle 'because, instead of uniting the workers as a class, it divides them by political districts, branches, etc.' The one form of reasoning would be as legitimate as the other, and both would be false."

Since it is admitted that it is not a legitimate statement against territorial representation there is no need to prove it, while as for the other side of the argument, that "Organisation on industrial lines does not necessarily divide the workers," I have said my say. But this to show the shallow thinking of the S.L.P. of A.: they seem to think that they escape from geographical representation, but they by no means do so. We read in their circular to the European Movement that "local unions will be composed of all the actual wage workers in a given industry in a given locality."

The "Weekly People" scribe, in the third instalment of his reply to the criticism of his party which has appeared in these columns, comes to the point of "How are you going to get behind the armed forces of the State?" He then asks if this is to be accomplished "By simple political 'organisation'?" By the method of the vote only?

It may clear the air to ask how the capitalist class "got behind" the armed forces. It is sheer moonshine to say that that class, "being in control of the industrial machinery of the land, . . . uses the threats of a shut down of industry to brow-beat Labor into voting to the capitalists' liking . . ." That sort of thing is comparatively rare in this country yet the masters get behind the armed forces pretty effectually. They get there by the votes of the working class.

In the same way the working class will get there. Our opponents need not be afraid of the "well known methods of counting out, stuffing ballot boxes, etc." All the cases which violent palpitation of the imagination brings to the S.L.P. mind do not alter the fact that a more or less free ballot is a necessity of the capitalist class. As our opponents show, so far it is chiefly capitalist candidates themselves who have suffered from these practices, and there is little doubt that those frozen out sections of the ruling class will not always be content to be frozen out. They will, in the course of time, fight the matter of the freedom of the ballot box to a finish—with the aid of the workers of course—as they have in this country. Though it is true that: "The country that is more developed industrially only shows to the less developed the image of its own future," the S.L.P. must not run away with the idea that in every detail America holds a mirror to the rest of the world. Brow-beating at the ballot box is a phase we have passed through in this country.

Our opponents, hereafter at a loss for honest argument, descend to filthy lies. We read:

"How are you going to capture these armed forces if you are prevented from doing so politically?"

And then our opponents answer for us with lies and slander, thus:

"By revolution," is the only answer which these political actionists can give. We see them giving it through Socialist Party organs in endorsing a citizen soldiery."

The record of our opposition to the "citizen army" idea is sufficiently well known to throw back this lie in the teeth of those who utter it. Never has any publication of ours ever endorsed a citizen soldiery. To ask how we are going to capture the armed forces of the State if we are prevented from doing so politically is fatuous at this period. We might as well ask how the industrial unionists are going to get possession of the means of production if they are prevented from doing so by the method of "taking and holding." We claim that the political means is the essential means.

In an endeavour to support the claim that "the workers' industrial power is the one source of power whereby they can back up their ballot" the writer in the "Weekly" People asks:

"What about the workers' POWER to paralyze capitalist machinations, as they did unwittingly in this country in the great coal strike of 1902? What about their POWER to paralyze capitalist machinations as they did in England in the great industrial strike there only about six years ago? Were those occasions not manifestations of the workers' POWER OVER INDUSTRY, even if asserted in a NEGATIVE fashion?"

If these instances are manifestations of what the S.L.P. conceive as power over industry, so much the worse for them. If, when they resort to their extremes, and the result is "that industry ceases to exist— if that is power over industry, then I am astounded. It is negative enough, in all conscience. But there are these two curious things about it—it does not need industrial unionism to give it articulation, and it has within it the germ of that instrument with which the S.L.P. professes to have "neither patience nor sympathy"—the general strike. Why be out of sympathy with any manifestation of "the workers' power over industry"?

The truth is that there is a vast difference between the "negative" and the "positive." In a developed capitalist country the workers are the free owners of their commodity, labour power, and can withdraw it under certain conditions (though, as was shown in the case of the Postal strike in France a few years ago, and of the railway strike in Great Britain in 1911, the ruling class are quite prepared to use the military to put a limit to this "right" when it suits them) without running counter to the law. But to make the slightest attempt, in any capitalist country, to take the "positive" action of "taking and holding" is to commit the very crime to prevent which is the chief reason for the maintenance of the armed forces. That is the answer to the question: "What about the same power when organised for positive action?"

If the workers can "take and hold" in face of the armed forces why do the S.L.P. trouble about political action at all? That is an interesting question that will remain unanswered. To attempt to answer it would be to place both feet in a quagmire from which there would be no escape.

The workers must prepare themselves for their emancipation by class-conscious organisation on both the political and the economic fields, the first to gain control of the forces with which the masters maintain their dominance, the second to carry on production in the new order of things. The economic organisation, however, must be upon a basis higher and having a wider view than the industrial base. It must be organised upon the basis of the working class, which becomes—what the basis of industries never can—a social basis as soon as the idle class is abolished and society becomes a society of workers. A. E. J.

The SOCIALIST STANDARD is a high explosive. It shatters error and superstition. Nuff said.

THAT BLESSED WORD "FREEDOM."

"But any man that walks the mead,
In bud or bloom or flower may find,
According as his humours lead,
A meaning suited to his mind."

Thus sang Tennyson; but the sage, in his more dogmatic and definite way, said bluntly that "all things are relative." And this profound truth is also illustrated in the various meanings given by different people to some of the commonest words.

Examine that blessed word "freedom," for instance, and it is at once plain that its meaning depends solely upon the point of view. Dismissing for the moment the philosophical content of the word—which itself is an everlasting bone of contention—and noticing only the commonest meanings, what an infinite variety there is! To no two men does that word call up the same mental picture. To nearly every individual it means no more nor less in reality than some different interference with the freedom of others to his advantage.

Throughout historical times, indeed, the freedom of the few has been the concomitant of the slavery of the many, while the idea of freedom is itself merely the inevitable reflex of the existence of slavery in some form. The very idea of freedom, therefore, is surely doomed to fade into nothingness with the disappearance of slavery from the face of the earth.

That day, however, is not yet; and at the present time, though we wonder at the reckless use of the word in situations where the content of freedom is lamentably lacking, it is perhaps just possible that the whole matter would look right to us if we could only attain to a suitable angle of vision. There is nevertheless, one common application of the word freedom which has been tried from many view-points and studied at many different angles of vision short of deliberate squint, without being made to come right. Since the reader may think that perhaps he will be more successful, the trouble may be briefly explained.

In the "Daily Chronicle" of June 1st a "special correspondent," seeking the cause of the deadlock on the western front in the European war, makes the following remarks:

"Are we, therefore, ourselves inferior? From a moral point of view we may at once state that we are superior. The Frenchman is still full of ardour, and the Englishman has on his side the superiority of the man who goes voluntarily to fight—the man who has not to be forced."

There is, of course, nothing surprising to us in the above statement. After many months of war literature it would surprise us much more not to find that sort of thing in our daily paper. We have, in fact, been inured to such sentiments from our orange box days. Even the poet Dryden told us that

"Freedom, which in no other land will thrive,
Freedom, an English subject's sole prerogative."

And we have, moreover, been exorted so frequently of late to "fight for freedom with the strength of free men" that we no longer stop to wonder what freedom is meant, or whose it is that is to be fought for.

No. The trouble is simply that in another column of the same issue of the paper that tells of the moral superiority of the Briton who "has not to be forced," there occurs the declaration of Mr. Aubrey Llewellyn Coventry Fell, chief officer of the L.C.C. tramways, refusing a livelihood to those men of military age and fitness employed by him up to the time of the late strike. This is followed by a Tramway Department official's statement that

"It is no use saying that this is a form of conscription: it is merely the application of the decision of the highway committee of last September barring the appointment of all fit men of military age."

It is quite obvious that this is not a form of conscription. It is simply an application of the decision of the master class to persuade their wage slaves into joining the fight with the moral superiority of men who have not been forced.

This is quite clear. But it only makes it all the more difficult, to say the least about it, to locate this freedom that is so much in the air of late. It has not as yet become visible to the anxious eyes of the workers, and many pairs of spectacles are likely to be worn out in the quest for it. Perhaps some ex-tramwaymen who have evaded the necessity to voluntarily go to the fight may be able to assist.

That the action of the L.C.C. is by no means isolated is common knowledge. On many sides similar action is openly boasted about. In "Country Life" of June 5th the writer of the motor notes says regarding those two big organisations known as the Royal Automobile Club and the Automobile Association, that

"In view of the correspondence which has reached us, we have communicated both with the Club and the Association, and in each case we are glad to say that we have received a categorical statement to the effect that no road guides or scouts are now employed who are eligible for enlistment. The steps taken by the two organisations are practically identical. In each case every man employed upon the road was in the early days of the war required to produce evidence of his unfitness for military service, either through age or physical defect, and was warned that, failing the production of this evidence he would not be retained in his employment."

In the case of the R.A.C. the result is that over 60 per cent. are now serving their country in one form or another."

So much for the evidence.

Now, the only clue in the above which appears to help us to get this elusive brand of freedom into the right angle of vision, or even into sight at all, is the fact that this forced voluntary service applies only to the working class. The members of the capitalist class, since their livelihood is not in the control of an employer, escape all such pressure. But even that does not help much in our search, because those drawn from this class, although it is entirely their fight, form only a very small proportion of the armies of the Empire.

Conscription, indeed, might take no greater number of the workers, but it should certainly take a much larger toll of the shirkers in the capitalist class; therefore the freedom of the latter, who have, nevertheless, everything to gain by the struggle, is manifest. Yet must our quest be abandoned, for to get from this small proportion of the fighting forces, because it has gone voluntarily, an angle of vision from which to see the whole of these forces covered with a mantle of superiority on that account alone, must surely require a squirt of such violence as to outstrip the most introspective fakir that ever tortured himself in that way. F. C. W.

"OUR" FAIR INHERITANCE (Continued).

the verge of hunger (Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman) the masters have enjoyed unprecedented prosperity and amassed huge fortunes.

In the face of such facts as these, that is to say, when it is so very obvious that the real enemy of the great mass of the people constituting this or any other nation, lurks within the gates of their native land ("Poverty is not the fault of Providence," to which admission its author would certainly have added another, namely, "nor is it the fault of the foreigner"), the position of the working class—the poor—fighting their fellows abroad, is to say the least, supremely grotesque. Besides—what greater misfortune could befall, and what greater injury could be inflicted upon the working class than the enemy within their gates has been and is responsible for?

Verily, it would be one of the good consequences of the present tragedy, which, after all, is only the measure of the beauty of capitalism, if it compelled the realisation on the part of the European workers, that this enemy is not one of race but of class. For such recognition is the only safe guide for a sound, working-class organisation; [only the organisation on class lines, in deadly opposition to the international master class, is capable of drawing the workers of all tongues closer together, and will finally secure the world for the workers.

Follow workers, the world is beautiful, let us secure it for ourselves. K.

SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.**HEAD OFFICE:**

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- "Weekly People" (New York).
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"Western Clarion" (Vancouver).
"Socialist" (Melbourne).
"Washington Socialist" (Washington).
"New Age" (Buffalo, N.Y.).
"Industrial Union News" (Detroit).

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OF GREAT BRITAIN.****OBJECT.**

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community.

Declaration of Principles

THE SOCIALIST PARTY of Great Britain

HOLDS—

That society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master class, and the consequent enslavement of the working class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.

That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce and those who produce but do not possess.

That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

That as in the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind, without distinction of race or sex.

That this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.

That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working-class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.

That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

The Socialist Party of Great Britain, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP.

Those agreeing with the above principles and desiring enrolment in the Party, should apply for membership form to secretary of nearest branch or at Head Office.

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OF THE

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LONDON, AUGUST, 1915.

[MONTHLY, ONE PENNY.]

THE WRECKERS.

HOW OUR FAIR NAME IS EXPLOITED.

THE "Daily News and Leader" in a recent leading article asks:

"What would be gained by 'mobilising' labour as it is called—that is, putting it under military law—if the organising faculty at the top is not present? We should have destroyed the best asset of this country, the free, willing service of the people, in order to set up the machine of Prussianism without its driving power. The corollary of military law for the worker would be the abolition of capitalism in the workshop, for it would be manifestly impossible to have forced labour to earn private dividends. Are our compulsionists prepared for such a vast experiment in Socialism?"

The portion of the above which has been italicised should be carefully noted. It is one of the commonest and most absurd of all the errors that are purposely advertised by the agents of the capitalist class that Socialism means the State ownership and government control of any or all of the means of wealth production. Those who advocate the State ownership of mines or railways or any other industry are dubbed Socialists and accept the name.

Mr. Lloyd George was evidently—or seemingly, at all events—under the impression that this was the meaning of Socialism when he said in one of his munition slanders:

"They have great trade unions in France; as the matter of fact they have a Socialist Government, and the gentleman who is organising the munitions supply in France is a young Socialist."

The Bishop of Oxford writing to his sheep said:

"It is strange to find 'The Times' and the 'Spectator' advocating Socialism—for the period of the war—that is, that the State should take over the industries which go to supply munitions, and that all alike—employers and employed, should henceforth be employed by the State till the war is over."

When the true definition of Socialism, which is the Object of the Socialist Party of Great Britain (the establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community) is quoted to any of these "State Socialists" they have two replies. First that it is impossible, which, of course, only means that it would not suit them, because it involves the abolition of capitalism the world over, and not merely the substitution of State for private control in the workshop; and secondly—the reply which is met

with more frequently—that there are recognised authorities on the subject who say otherwise. But recognised by whom?

Fortunately, Socialism does not depend upon the utterances of any individual or number of individuals, however illustrious or prominent they may be. No man can be an authority on Socialism unless his statements are backed by evidence and his deductions and opinions will stand the test of common sense. It is mere bombast for men like Mr. George Bernard Shaw to construct elaborate theories, laying stress and emphasis upon them and dressing them up to look like essentials, when an intelligent examination shows them to be unimportant and unsound—as he does with his theory of rent, which has no bearing whatever on the problems that face the working class—or as he does with his theory that the exchange-value of a commodity is fixed by supply and demand, an error that was exposed by Marx before Shaw espoused it. (The latter, apparently, is still unacquainted with Marx's suggestive and searching question, "What fixes the price when supply and demand are equal?")

There are many writers of this type whose works receive friendly notice in the columns of the capitalist Press. The leader-writer and the politician accept them as standard works, refer to them and quote them as authorities on Socialism. But that does not make them such. On the contrary, the very fact that a so-called Socialist work has been received by the capitalist Press even in a spirit of friendly criticism should be sufficient to awaken the suspicion of those workers to whose notice it is brought.

The main characteristic of all such works is that they deny the existence of the class war—possibly because the mass of the workers have not yet consciously engaged in the struggle. But they never attempt to disprove the fundamental antagonism that exists, nor can they deny that the capitalist class consciously enlist all the available forces, knowledge, and ability at their command in a continuous effort to keep the workers a slave class.

The fight put up by the workers is limited because of their lack of knowledge. Trade union organisation, strikes, demonstrations, and enrolment in pseudo-Socialist parties, together with a growing antagonism and suspicion against the ruling class constitute the sum total of their activities, but limited as these activities are they testify to the deep-seated causes that are bound to produce, and increasingly develop, hostility.

The growing suspicion of large sections of the workers is, perhaps, the most significant of all the factors, and is recognised as such by members of the Government. Mr. Lloyd George, in particular, had to admit, with sorrow, that the

munition workers would have nothing to do with Government guarantees, preferring to hold fast to the trifling privileges they have gained by a policy of caution, though they risked being charged with want of patriotism.

Working-class resistance takes these particular forms because the nature of the struggle is not yet understood by the workers. To deny the existence of the class struggle because one side fights with full knowledge and up-to-date methods and the other side merely kicks and yells is paralleled by saying that there is no antagonism between the tramp and the insects that feed on him, because he is too tired to actively combat them, or is unable to afford the luxury of a bath with the necessary disinfectants.

When Mr. J. Ramsay MacDonald jeers at the "class war dogma," and Mr. G. B. Shaw denies the class war's existence, they range themselves on the side of the master class, whose wish that there should be no class war is father to the thought that there is none. Every labour lack inside and outside the House of Commons respects that wish and proclaims that the interests of the only two classes in society are, in the main, identical. For that reason they are pro-capitalist, because the emancipation of the working class depends upon their recognition of the antagonism of classes and the fact that they are enslaved for enslavement is in itself a calculated, pronounced, and continuous act of hostility. Consequently, Socialism can only be established as a result of the antagonism of classes and the successful prosecution of the class war by an enlightened working class.

For all the confusion that exists as to the cause of poverty and the meaning of Socialism we have to thank those who pose as the friends of the workers, and in many cases describe themselves as Socialists. These wolves in sheep's clothing propound their heresies and absurdities in sentimental and plausible language, to be taken up by the ignoramus and the trickster and scattered over the pages the workers read; hence their confusion and ignorance.

It is the business of capitalism to produce commodities for the world's market. It is a characteristic of the system that scarcely any of these commodities are what they seem or what they are guaranteed to be. How, then, can we accept the capitalist's statement that periodicals like the "Clarion" and the "Labour Leader," for instance, are Socialistic? Periodicals such as these are the organs of confusion produced by professional confusionists, countenanced, and often assisted by, the master class.

The latest number of the "Clarion" which is no exception to every number that has pre-

ceded it, by the way—contains a relash of the of the old lies that have done service for the capitalist class for so long. "If the Government were to take over the mines that would be an act of pure Socialism," says Robert Blatchford, and again, "Socialism means the collective ownership of the means of production, distribution and exchange."

Whether Blatchford and the rest of his kidney publish these errors through ignorance or as acts of enmity against the working class I, not being conversant with their "inner consciousness," am unable to say, nor have I time to waste in so vain a speculation. They are errors, and Socialists can only denounce the authors of them, pointing out at the same time to the workers where they are false, and inviting them to use their intelligence that they may speedily understand Socialism for themselves—when the confusionist will disappear because there will be no market for his adulterated, distorted, and injurious commodity. F. F.

BY THE WAY.

In a recent issue of the "Daily Dispatch" a writer deals at some length with the M.P.'s who had the temerity to vote against the National Registration Bill. He says:

"It was a motley group which challenged a division on the Registration Bill last night, and its composition furnishes an interesting indication of the character of the opposition which the National Government will have to meet. . . . There were gathered together 'all who were discontented,' and it was a quaint collection of disappointed ex-ministers, radical purists, cranks and anti-British Socialists."

The writer goes on to describe this "motley group" as "Strange Bed-fellows," and makes the mistake of calling these labour fakers Socialists. Moreover, this gentleman overlooks another contributor to the same paper, Mr. H. M. Hyndman—the "Revolutionary Socialist"—holding the same views as avowedly capitalist writers to the "Dispatch." And what of the Liberal and Tory coalition with a mingling of Labourites!

Perhaps it would not be amiss in the circumstances to take a peep at the division list to which the "Dispatch" scribbler refers. We find that the "Socialists" spoken of includes Messrs. W. C. Anderson, C. W. Bowerman, J. F. Jo wet, J. R. Macdonald, P. Snowden, and J. H. Thomas. The remainder of that hotch potch known as the Labour Party voted for the Bill! If the "Dispatch" derives any satisfaction from their reference to those "strange bed fellows," it at least gives us the opportunity of repudiating the claim of these latter to the title they usurp whenever and wherever it suits their purpose to do so—the claim that they are Socialists. A careful study of the antics of these gentry in and out of the House of Commons will suffice to prove their worthlessness to the working class.

* * *

Lord Kitchener, in his speech at the Guildhall on July 9th, made a passing reference to the object of the National Register. He delivered himself as follows:

"When registration was completed they would be able to note men between nineteen and forty not required for munitions and other necessary purposes, and therefore available, if physically fit, for the firing line. Steps would then be taken to approach them with a view to enlistment, unmarried men to be preferred."—"Reynolds's," 11.7.15.

* * *

Mr. H. M. Hyndman, the "father of English Socialism," recently contributed an article to the "Daily Dispatch" (7.7.15) on the subject of "National Registration and National Liberty," in which he endeavoured to show how the first will safeguard the last. Throughout the article we find him mouthing the usual capitalist prattle, such as "many valuable ships of war have been sunk, and our mercantile marine is suffering from systematic piracy." A little admonition is dealt out to "our rulers, who for months on end refused to recognise that we were face to face with relentless enemies orga-

nised for the purpose of crushing our allies and ourselves." He goes on to say that "such organisation, prepared and matured during at least forty years, can only be successfully encountered and overcome by equal organisation voluntarily accepted," and "whatever may be urged against certain clauses of the War Munitions Act, no such criticism can be fairly levelled at a measure whose object is to put directly at the national disposal the whole of the power of the nation as represented by its entire population for work or for war."

Doubtless the phrase "national disposal" should read the disposal of the master class, in whose interest the war is being waged, as the working class were not consulted in the signing of any treaties beforehand or the reasons for entering the war. Not a word do we find about "secret diplomacy" which led to war and used to be his pet hobby horse.

Mr. Hyndman further informs us that "nothing for which the masses of our people have ever striven is more important than that they and all of us should win in this tremendous war against the ruthless military caste—happily the last left on the planet [!]-that menaces the rights en l freedom of mankind." And again: "If the Kaiser succeeds in his great endeavour to dominate Europe what chance have we English, or any other nationality, of working out freely and peaceably our own economic and social salvation?" So Socialism depends upon the whim of the Kaiser, eh? It depends not on economic circumstance but on dynastic circumstance—according to this blind leader of the blind.

In conclusion he adds that it is "our duty to marshal our entire forces . . . to ensure safety for ourselves and security for our allies. If for the purpose of achieving this result we are all obliged to submit ourselves to national discipline . . . then the temporary sacrifice of personal liberty will be well rewarded in the end." Mr. Hyndman at the same time points out that "this suppression of our individual liberty" should be "duly safeguarded against bureaucratic tyranny." But who can guarantee this?

Doubtless these outpourings will obtain for this "oldest Social-Democrat in Great Britain" the "well done, thou good and faithful servant!" of the masters. (Italics mine)

* * *

A series of questions were recently asked in the House of Commons touching the matter of whether it was not possible to grant the troops in the new armies facilities for visiting their home, for the purpose of bidding good-bye to their families. It was said that:

"The fare from Salisbury to Lancashire and Yorkshire was a sum beyond the means of many of these men to spare out of their pay; and whether the Government would undertake that all who obtained leave before going abroad should be enabled to visit their homes free of cost?"

And it was further asked:

"Whether the War Office would bear in mind that many of these men gave up remunerative posts in order to join the Army, and that their being prevented from seeing their relatives before going abroad through not being able to pay the fare would be a great hardship?"

The official reply was that the question was being considered.

The remunerative nature of the positions that have been given up may be judged from the fact that those who have given them up have no reserve funds to pay their own railway fare home; and on the other hand, what is to be said of the meanness of the country they are going to protect, that refuses to let them travel over the "Statized" (temporarily) railways free? Such paltry niggardness before the "happy warriors" have saved their masters' bacon augurs well for the open-handed generosity of a traditionally "grateful country" when the maimed and battered remnants of "glorious humanity" are brought home after the struggle.

* * *

The Suffragettes are doing their best to keep their movement before the public. These people, who only a short time ago were busily en-

gaged window smashing, church burning, and picture ripping, are now hailed as law-abiding citizens, whose services are to be used in order to free men from productive processes so that the latter may be driven into the trenches. These ladies, as they took very great care that all the world should know, recently organised a procession to send a deputation to Mr. Lloyd George to "demand the right to serve." We are told that in the procession "peeresses walked shoulder to shoulder with shop girls and factory lasses." The ulterior object is seen in the wording of a telegram received later by Mrs. Pankhurst from Mr. Hall Caine. It was given in the "Observer" (18.7.15) as follows:

"After to-day's thrilling patriotic procession the Women's Cause will triumph as surely as the sun will rise and the sea will flow."

* * *

In all our (masters') newspapers we are told to economise. Government organisations like the Parliamentary War Savings Committee take up the tale with all manner of blandishments. And now along comes Canon (I believe) H. D. Rawnsley pointing out that there is plenty of accommodation in the Lake District for holiday makers. He writes:

"It has come to my knowledge that some who were intending to come to the Lake District for their holiday have been put off by hearing that, in consequence of the war, the holiday makers who would otherwise have gone to the Continent or to the East Coast have thronged the district, and that accommodation is not to be had. I wish to give an emphatic contradiction to the rumour."—"Manchester Guardian," 10.7.15.)

With Mr. Asquith, Mr. Lloyd George, and other great patriots urging Plunger Sniff the dustman and Sooty Sam the chimney sweep to economy, it is surely doing a disservice to the State on the part of Mr. Rawnsley to try to tempt them to find in the English Lake District a substitute for the lost charms of the Riviera and the pleasures of shove-la-penny at Monte Carlo. For shame, sir! You will not let our corduroy prodigals come to the rescue of their bleeding country through "retrenchment and reform" even when they want to.

* * *

At a time like the present, when we are hearing so much about our "liberty," perhaps a few "rules" from a certain motor works would not come amiss. After having affixed his number and name on the front page the new wage-slave is informed that:

"Each employee must personally register in the time clock when he commences and ceases work."

"Employees ringing in late will be paid from the nearest half hour following the time rung in, and must begin work at once on entering the shop."

"The bell will ring in the morning, and after the luncheon hour two minutes before the time to commence work, so that all employees may have a chance to reach their respective places before the starting bell rings, when everyone must be in his place with his overalls on ready for work. Just entering the building on starting time will not be satisfactory."

"Receiving visitors, lunching, eating or reading is not permitted during working hours. "Smoking or lighting cigars, pipes, etc., is absolutely prohibited."

I will not not extend the list any further, sufficient being quoted to discover the need for a microscope to reveal our much-vaunted liberty. THE SCOUT.

OUR WAR VOLUME.

The attention of readers is drawn to the probability that, on account of the number of Party manifestoes on the war it contains, there will be an exceptional demand for the volume of our Party Organ which closes with this number. Those who desire to obtain the volume should place their orders early.

IS REVOLUTION AHEAD?

THE SOCIAL PROBLEM, by Chas. A. Ellwood, Ph. D., Professor of Sociology in the University of Missouri. New York: Macmillan Co. 255 pp., 5s. 6 net.

"Nothing can prevent a war throughout Western civilization between the possessors and the dispossessed—a war infinitely more horrible than the present one—nothing except the dominance in the mass of individuals, or at least in the leaders of both classes, of intelligence and of the ideals of peace and brotherhood." (p. 223.)

This is the burden of the book in a nutshell. The "Social Problem" according to the author, is to harmonise the warring factors that are wrecking civilization. Of these factors he claims that the one to be relied upon is the "apiritual." He says:

"If the governing class will keep in touch with all classes; if those in authority in law, in industry, in education, in religion will seek first the public good; if all classes will seek to keep open the means of understanding and sympathy with all other classes, there will be no more need of revolution as a means of social progress than there is of children's diseases in individual development." (p. 231.)

We have it on the best authority that there is much virtue in your "if." And the professor has by no means exhausted its possibilities. For example, if— But why go on? The labouring man is learning in bitterness how utterly futile is the expectation that those in authority in industry, law and all the rest, will ever "seek first the public good." Therefore from the facts upon which the learned professor bases his case we know that revolution is inevitable. Not only is it inevitable, but the professor himself tells us that it is also justifiable, for he says (p. 100):

"The sacrifice of life through industrial accidents and disease, through overwork and under pay, through unsanitary dwellings, through commercialized pandering to men's vicious appetites, we must cease to tolerate among us if we are to progress either morally or physically. The evils of war are great, but they are no greater than these evils of peace which we have tolerated too long."

It appears, however, that it is not so much the evils of to-day which move the professor, as the fear of revolution. He indicates with apprehension (p. 83) that the industrial system generates class antagonism; that class conflicts increase; that class interest has become a war cry; that class hatred grows; and that a gulf, in social conditions as well as in feeling, develops between the fortunate and the less fortunate: "a gulf which the sympathy and understanding necessary for social solidarity finds it difficult to bridge."

And how does the author set about his difficult task? In the first place by defining the social problem as "the problem of humans living together." The definition is significant. It implies that a means is to be found of softening the antagonisms so that capitalist and labourer can peacefully live together. It leads him naturally to a gospel of social harmony by means of reform and mutual concession. Above all he abhors revolution. It is the end of all things. Like practically all of capitalism's salaried intellectuals, he fears the working class far more than he dislikes his present masters; and there is nothing he dreads more than a working-class dictatorship. Like most of his brethren, also, he agrees with all progressive thought—to a certain extent, and there are few advanced movements that do not get a kind word from him. But what he thinks the world really needs is a "new soul," even more than a new economic system.

On the professor's own showing, however, there is little hope for his solution. He acknowledges that the gulf between the classes widens; that the rulers are deaf to humanity; and that the workers are without "soul." He laments that the machinery for national and social peace inevitably breaks down. Yet he hopes by religion, by moral education, and by social reform to

reform that growing social antagonism which these things have not only failed to arrest, but have tended to foster.

He grants that material conditions mould at least the framework of "our" civilization, and that these conditions tend to sharpen social contrasts and defeat his aims; yet he claims, in effect, that out of the minds of trained leaders, despite the hostile influences of economic forces as a whole, an intellectual force will be made to flow which will check these dangerous influences and divert them into harmonious streams.

Thus Professor Ellwood finds it necessary to reject the materialist conception of history and seek help from a dualism which relies mainly on the ideas of free will, the immortal soul, and that god-given moral force by which any man can rise superior to, and dominate, his circumstances whenever he cares to exercise the will to do so. In short, the writer of the book takes sides with the priest, the Christian-scientist, the charlatan, the ignoramus and the metaphysician, on this important issue. Since, however, few will take up a logical position on that side owing to the very obviousness of most of the facts against them, a refuge is sought in a catholic eclecticism, the confusion of which makes it extremely difficult to nail down the basic error.

The professor is, nevertheless, for all his eclecticism, clear-headed enough to see where the chief danger to his position lies. He devotes considerable space to a discussion of the materialist conception of history. He admits practically all that is contended for in that philosophy; but since he must find some way of escape, he does so by misunderstanding or misrepresentation. He

"cordially acknowledges the complete dependence of civilized man upon the economic system under which he lives"

and goes on to say that

"the dependence of man upon economic conditions increases as civilization advances." "But," he adds, "when we have conceded that modern industry has shaped the main outlines of our civilization, that is not sufficient warrant for concluding that our industrial system determines every thing in our social life. On the contrary, it needs but little investigation to show that there are many intimate personal relations which are very far from being determined by the economic system under which we live. Men still think and feel and act in these intimate relations not so differently from what they did long before the present economic system was born. Many of the ideas, ideals and values by which men live, in other words, far antedate our present economic system, and will probably survive it long after it is dead. It is not true, therefore, that the spiritual elements in life, and especially not those contained in moral, religious and artistic ideas and ideals, are determined by methods of producing and distributing wealth."

In other words, because all men's ideas and acts are not entirely explicable from the present economic system alone, therefore the materialist conception of history is an error. The professor's misrepresentation is obvious. Whence come those ideas for which the present system cannot account? They do not come from God. They cannot be uncaused. We know them to be accounted for by past social conditions. Many intimate acts and relations of men antedate all historical forms of society. They are the outcome of the primitive struggle for survival over other animals. Other customs and ideas originate at various economic stages in mankind's advance towards what is called civilization. It has never been said that the existing system alone accounted for everything in man's ideas and acts. That is a fiction of the professor's, and shows to what he is reduced in order to make a case. Ideas that are the outcome of past social conditions tend to persist, and are altered or modified where they come into conflict with succeeding social orders. This is notoriously the case, as shown in the pamphlet published by the Socialist Party, in the matter of religion to which the professor refers. The modifications that have taken place in this phase of ideology reflect in an obvious way the changing needs of changing social conditions.

For the rest, as the author of the book under review rightly surmises, revolution is inevitable

in the event of the failure of his panacea. Neither in the working class nor in the ruling class can the selfish humanitarian ideals upon which he relies become dominant. Our social circumstances destroy them. Present economic conditions sow hate, not love. Figs cannot grow on thistles. If it were necessary to wait for a complete moral regeneration of the working class; if the mass had first to overflow with love and charity for our oppressors, our case as well as the professor's, would be utterly hopeless. Fortunately it is not so. Economic development is with us. On it our essential case rests. The propaganda of revolutionary Socialism is a direct effect of present social conditions. Capitalist conditions indelibly stamp the ruling class with the selfish, cruel and hypocritical qualities of the exploiter; and we know what a little part sentiment plays in the struggle. Therefore are we undimmed, even at the prospect of a ruthless and hate-filled proletariat battling desperately for the destruction of the present hellish system in order to make at last possible that development of society which shall, through social co-operation and mutuality of interest make realisable for the first time since primitive communism, the ideals of social harmony and human brotherhood. F. C. W.

SHRAPNEL SPLINTERS.

Dilly, Dilly, come and be killed.

Why are all the labour crooks visiting "the front?"

Is it merely to run round telling us what a picnic it is?

War is hell—Capitalism is war—therefore, Capitalism is hell.

When are "we" going to dig the German Fleet out "like rats?"

Why has the gas-bag hero of Sydney-st. been so quiet lately; is he waiting for it to come off?

When Mr. Churchill said: "There are worse things than bloodshed," had he a prophetic vision of losing his job?

Now that the value of physically fit men (such as shunters) has risen so, are we within sight of the adoption of automatic couplings?

Who are our merchant seamen most grateful to—the man who lowered the Plimsol line "with a stroke of the pen," or the men who raise it with a torpedo?

Which is the easier death, to be "gassed" in a bleaching-powder factory, or "gassed" in the trenches? St. Helena chemical workers want to know.

Is it true that the miners who have enlisted don't like trench warfare because it presents no change from the features of death by gas, explosion, fire, and earthfall of their trade?

What is to become of the mangel crop now that those patriots who cannot pull a trigger in the trenches have been frustrated in their noble endeavour to commence operations on the moors on the 5th instead of on the 12th?

"The enemy in their victors' march know not what they are doing. Let them beware, for they are unshackling Russia."—(H. George at Langor, Aug. 5th, 1915.)

May we, then, be permitted to say "ho! ho!" to those who are about to unshackle Russia?

"If right is worsted in this conflict civilisation will be put back for generations."—(Same speaker, same time, same place.)

May we, then, be permitted to assume that it is wrong that is unshackling Russia, and right, in the persons of Russian autocracy and its noble allies, that is preventing it from doing so? Or is the solution to the riddle this—that Russia unshackled is civilisation put back?

The Johnson-Jeffries fight was banned from the Cinema halls, but the Willett-Johnson fight was not. Is this change of policy due to the sudden discovery both in France and England that the man of colour is morally fit to fight the white man (and therefore to give him a hiding) or to the fact that in the first case the black man won, while in the second case he lost? I only want to know where we stand on the colour question. BILL BAILEY.

(Ben loses consciousness, while the General falls on his sword and dies—*a-laughing.*)
B. B. B.

"A WHIFF OF GRAPE."

In the face of such a predicament as faces our lords and masters at the present moment the so-called labour problem assumes a visage that to the Socialist is both significant and humorous. The "patriotic" masters, in spite of the great need of the State for the good-will of their slaves, at least in the workshops, mines, factories and other and suchlike places where these slaves assume any importance at all, adhere with the tenacity of limpets to their old and natural policy of grinding the faces of those they have on the economic grindstone. However dire the need of the country that really, in substance and in fact, is theirs may be, their leech-like proclivities are only unfeeling-like in that they cannot gorge themselves to satiety.

The Welsh coal owners provide a typical example. In spite of the fact that, as Mr. Lloyd George says, "coal is everything for 'us,' and we want more of it to win victory." "It bends, it moulds, it fills the weapons of war"; in spite of the fact that their war fleet depends for its very life upon Welsh coal, the owners of the Welsh mines would not release in the smallest degree, their clutch upon the throats of their wage-slaves. They could not realise, it seemed, that the whip which had driven the miners into the pits under the pre-war terms and conditions no longer had the power that it had in those days. The needs of the master class were too great and too urgent to permit of a resort to the old dodge of trying to starve the miners into submission. But the mine owners either were blind to this, or they counted upon the "patriotism" of the men to take the place of the whip of starvation. Anyhow, they drove the miners beyond the limits of patience before they abdicated, only showing their patriotism by placing themselves in the hands of the Government when they had lost the move.

This sort of thing has been going on all over the place. Everywhere the workers, faced with an increase of some fifty per cent. in the cost of living, have had to struggle bitterly to gain an advance of wages equal to but a fraction of the increased cost of living. And when they have been compelled to resort to the final step—the strike, what a howl of astonishment, indignation, and righteous (!) wrath has gone up from our masters' Press!

Who does not remember what an "indelible stain" besmirched the "patriotism" of the Clyde shipyard men when they were guilty of refusing to let their masters have their labour-power on their own terms? Who forgets what scoundrels the L.C.C. tramwaymen were for daring to put forward demands and taking the only action that counts for much in the way of supporting those demands? And now it is the turn of the miners to be upheld as men who broke pledges—pledges which they had not given; who had disobeyed their leaders—leaders whom the men pay to obey them; who were murdering their comrades in the trenches—as if it were miners and not the masters who had sent them there.

Of course it could not be expected that the prostitute scribblers of the prostitute Press should remember that there are two sides to a disagreement as well as to an agreement. That the masters had deliberately chosen to sacrifice the efficiency of their own fleet and imperil their own forces in Flanders rather than relax a little the hard terms upon which their slaves could go down into the pits and tussel with Death for coal, was a facet of the position that the capitalist penmen would not be expected to have eyes for. Holders of any other commodity—any of the multitudinous products of labour—were to be permitted to push up the prices of their goods to the highest limit the unique situation gave them the opportunity to, and, no matter how necessary those commodities were, or how much misery their dearth brought upon immense numbers—of the people who don't count, the working people—no word of stricture fell upon them. In the early days of the war, when it was claimed that only State control of the drink traffic could solve the problem of the shirker, the Government attempted to secure such control, but the brewers and distillers and other gentlemen of The Trade kicked up such a rumpus that the Aquilian courage oozed out and

the project fell through—yet of all those newspaper who had shouted from the housetops that drink was lessening the output of munitions and killing the men in the trenches, not one ever applied to the brewers and distillers who refused to permit the drink to be placed beyond the reach of the "drinkers and shirkers" (and not, be it said, out of any love of the liberty of these latter) even the least of the filthy epithets they showered upon the men who had dared to claim a larger share of the wealth which they and they alone produced.

It was the sycophant claim of our masters' Press that the miners should have continued to work while still negotiating; but those who best know the master class in general and the mine-owners in particular, know very well that had they adopted this course they might have followed it to the end of the war—when the dispute would probably have been settled with the aid of policemen's truncheons, as in the pre-war days. But as a matter of fact the men had tried this plan of negotiating while continuing to work, like men who were afraid to fight for what they were demanding. They had had a bellyful. Their leaders had played into the masters' hands and were treacherously advising the men to accept their exploiters' terms. In any case where procrastination means that the masters are escaping, even if only for the moment the heart-rending necessity of having to part with a share of their plunder, negotiation is the slowest coach upon the road; but when the masters have got the men's leaders on their side, then, indeed, the coach properly breaks down.

Those people who talk so glibly about negotiation seem to base their contention upon the pretension that all the employers want in order to induce them to meet the men's demands is to have their ears tickled with sweet reasonableness. They know, however, that this is entirely false. They know that the only argument that ever touches the masters as such is the argument of force. There is no other effective appeal either to their reason or to their feeling. So long as they thought that the patriotic fervour of the men or the cajolery of the leaders would avert a strike negotiations brought the men no nearer the satisfaction of their demands. But look at the effect that was produced by the positive action of ceasing to work!

At once the Government, who showed a very mild interest in the terms and conditions under which coal came out of the mines so long as it did come out, was galvanised into the most acute interest and vigorous action; at once the masters, finding themselves, in the absence of an army of blacklegs to fall back upon, utterly licked, retired from the contest, left the matter in the hands of the Government, and expressed a very patriotic willingness to do whatever the Government told them. In a week the men were back at work again, in the enjoyment of the substance of pretty well all they demanded, if not the shadow, instead of the usual reward of negotiation, the capture of the shadow with the merest intendment of the substance, or none.

This result was the fullest justification of the action the miners had taken. This fact, however, did not save them from almost universal abuse, amongst which not the least venomous was that of their (so-called) leaders. These men, of course, who had struggled so hard to make them submit to the terms of the mine-owners, found that the victory, gained without their help, against their advice, in opposition, even, to their endeavours, placed them in a peculiar and unenviable position. That they fully appreciated this is amply shown by the utterances of one of their number, Mr. Vernon Hartshorn, as reported in "Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper" for July 25th. According to this report Mr. Hartshorn said:

"I am guilty of no exaggeration when I say that last week-end the very existence of the federation as a trade union organisation hung in the balance. Public opinion was against it because of the refusal to give the Government a little more time. It stood abandoned by the whole of the labour movement of the country. The occasion was a unique opportunity for a bold, bloodthirsty reaction.

"Public opinion, rendered nervous, savage, and ruthless by the present national dangers, would have approved the course taken, and,

apart from sentimental resentment, the organised labour movement in the country would, perhaps, have acquiesced. I say emphatically that no leader has a moral right to lead his organisation into such a perilous impasse, and no leader with a proper conception of industrial strategy or of the tremendous powers which can be arrayed against labour when it makes a tactical slip would dream of doing.

"A few more days of restraint would have given the Government the chance to rectify its undoubted errors, and would have immensely strengthened the position of the federation with the public. But the opportunity was not given, and last week-end the sword of destruction, though the men as a body did not know it, was hanging over the federation.

"During those critical days the Government were tempted—there is no doubt about it—to deal with this isolated and sectional problem by the savage and crude old method of a whiff of grapeshot, which has in many of the troubled periods of history destroyed the rising hopes of democracy and heralded a long reign of reaction and repression.

"What saved us and the country from such a disaster? It is only fair to acknowledge, without reservation, that we were saved from that disaster not by any strength of our own, but by the wisdom, generosity, and restraint with which the ultimate crisis was dealt with the Coalition Government."

There, it is quite easy to see by anyone who has a fair knowledge of the facts of the case, are the words of a man who is under the necessity of rehabilitating himself in the eyes of those with whom it is important that he should stand well. The implication, however, that the fools who rushed in where such angels as Mr. Vernon Hartshorn feared to tread brought the miners so near to such dire perils as indicated is quite without foundation. A whiff of grapeshot, indeed! The sword of destruction, by goah! It would be interesting to have Mr. Hartshorn's authority for these statements.

The fact is that the whiff of grapeshot and the sword of destruction were quite "outside the range of practical politics," as the capitalist critics so fondly say of Socialism. The mere fact that the mine owners recognised that the game was up and retired behind the Government shows this. If it is ever true that Governments take the line of least resistance, it is true at the moment when they have got more than enough trouble on hand in other directions. The line of least resistance was certainly not the line that might be cleared by whiffs of grapeshot. Mr. Hartshorn, even, had not the courage to state that the organised labour movement in the country "would have acquiesced" in the grapeshot treatment without that saving "perhaps."

When Mr. Lloyd George took his "silver tongue" to Wales it was to talk a good face on the matter from the Government point of view. A certain prestige had to be maintained if possible. The "organised labour movement in the country" was not to get the idea that it had only to cease working in order to be granted anything that it wanted. The face of labour leaders, who had promised that, in return for being left out of the Munitions Act there should be lamb-like submission in the Welsh mine-fields, had to be saved as far as possible. So the miners were penalised by being brought under the Act which is absurdly useless as against two or three hundred thousand miners, though it may suffice to deal with a couple of score of coppersmiths. The "silver tongue" had only the task of persuading the men to swallow this "bitter" pill, of disguising the completeness of the men's victory, and throwing over the affair just that appearance of "wisdom, generosity, and restraint" which their back, Mr. Hartshorn, attributes to the Coalition Government. But as for whiffs of grape and swords of destruction, they are the mere invention of a discredited labour leader, of a would-be trade union boss who aspires to ambitious heights under the patronage of the workers' enemies by assuming the role of dictator, and who is mortified in spirit by being flouted by those he would control, and jeopardised in fortune by the success of a course taken in defiance of leaders.

Let the workers understand their own affairs, shake off their "leaders," and victory is theirs.

A. E. JACOMB.

ROPES OF SAND.

"A WAY TO PREVENT WAR," by ALAN L. BENSON. 180 pp. cloth, 1 dollar. Appeal to Reason, Girard, Kansas, U.S.A.

"If the people were in favour of war, the way to end war would be to convert the people to peace. This book is devoted to the task of showing that since the people are opposed to war the logical way to end it is to take the power to declare war from minorities who misuse it and vest it in the people who may be depended upon not to use it at all." Thus does the author of the volume under review open his preface.

The busy reviewer who takes up a book for the purpose of criticism, and finds the key to his labours in the first paragraph, is a lucky man. "Since the people are opposed to war!" What an assumption to build up a 180 page tome upon! Had the writer lived in England in August 1914; had he taken part in the perils of our outdoor propaganda soon after the outbreak of hostilities; had he mounted the public platform in any of the belligerent countries last autumn, when the British bulldog was a gnashing of his teeth, and the French poodle and the Russian bear were tying themselves up in true lovers' knots in their patriotic frenzy, and the German two-headed eagle was doing the porcupine act with his neck feathers, and only the Dutch cheese maintained his customary sanity (because he wasn't a belligerent)—had he, the author of "A way to Prevent War," taken the platform then and tried to tell the people that they "are opposed to war," he would have experienced experiences that might have prevented him rushing into print on such a flimsy ground as the conception that the people would never use the power to declare war at all.

Mr. Churchill has told us that there are worse things than bloodshed, and it is true. Mr. Churchill, of course, meant that there are worse things than the shedding of other people's blood, and thus put even fewer dissentients will raise voice against the statement. But if we are to believe Mr. Benson, there are no conceivable circumstances, no wrongs and oppression, which could urge the people to resort to arms if the option of peace and war lay with them.

Well, I for one say not so, and fervently hope not so. Bad, indeed, as this welter of blood is—and its horror vibrates not less strongly through the Socialist fibres of the reviewer than through the reformist fabric of his author—it is not so bad, by a very long chalk, as that the working class, if the power to make war was vested in them, could "be depended upon never to use it at all"—merely because, under Mr. Benson's scheme, those who voted for war would be the first to be sent to the front.

The present futile and deplorable struggle, with all its appalling waste of life and all its stupendous agony and suffering, is not so bad as that other condition because it indicates that the workers are not lacking in the "animal" courage necessary for the achievement of their emancipation from wage-slavery, while on the other hand, if they would never resort to armed conflict at all under the condition that those who voted for war would be the first to be called upon to serve, that would simply indicate that they have not the courage to strike the blow which they must strike in order to set themselves free.

Mr. Benson says: "The world is tired of war." This may be true enough now; and anyway it is pretty certain to be true before the war is finished. That does not mean, however, that in a decade or so the world would decline to resort to force of arms again should circumstances similar to those which caused the present conflagration then obtain. No one, in all probability, will be more heartily tired of the war before it is finished than the capitalist class, who have got to pay for it; yet even our author would not deny that it would be idle to expect the capitalist class to abolish war. Anyway he says that his program "will not be installed by the capitalist class." (Page 4.)

What better reason has Mr. Benson for maintaining that the people (by whom he seems to mean the working class) need but the referendum on war in order to abolish war?

The bottom of the argument is knocked out

by the author's own admission (p. 77) that "It is unfortunately true that a shaming diplomatists and jingo journalists have the power so to inflame peoples that they desire war." What, then, is the use of talking about giving the people the "direct vote on the war"? To bamboozle them into desiring war is to bamboozle them into voting war; and to lay the voter under the penalty of having to fight if he votes for fighting is simply to challenge his courage. These things are patent to everyone save the crank who thinks he has discovered a short cut to the millennium.

The very fact that it is true that "scheming diplomatists and jingo journalists have the power to so inflame peoples that they desire war" shows that it is not so much the referendum on war that the people need as knowledge. Knowledge alone can save them from the wiles of the "scheming diplomatists and jingo journalists" interested in stirring up race hatred and exploiting the cowardices of those who have not the courage to face the charge of the white feather lancers. Granted that Mr. Benson, as a part of his scheme, provides the same penalty for those who advocate war through the Press or on the platform as for those who vote for it in the ballot, but the capitalists, with their unlimited means of inducing men and women to take personal risks (as witness the system of espionage existing in all capitalist countries) would find this very little deterrent to the people being so inflamed as to desire war.

Knowledge is the only safeguard against the workers being dragged into wars that do not concern them—knowledge that is, which has found its consummation in the capture of the machinery of government. This knowledge must be Socialist knowledge. It must be knowledge of the unity of interest of the workers of all countries, and the antagonism between that interest and the interest of the capitalists of all lands.

And mark this, that knowledge itself, while it precludes the possibility of the workers being inflamed for capitalist war, must on the other hand inflame them against the capitalists in the bitterest of all wars—the class war. As opposing interests are the cause of all wars, unity of interest is the only absolute safeguard against war. The Socialist recognises this and acts accordingly; the pseudo-Socialist does not recognise it, and he acts accordingly also.

Hence we find Mr. Benson telling us (p. 101) "The advocates of the war referendum plan declare that if diplomacy were democratized and the war-making power vested in themselves, no war could be begun for which the people had not voted"—which, of course, is not less fatuous because it is true, if the people can be inflamed to desire war.

And hence also we find Mr. Benson arguing the question (p. 102) "whether the Socialist plan of ending poverty and war or the war-referendum plan is, in its nature, most likely to lead in making its way into the public understanding" and deciding (as a Socialist!) against the Socialist plan.

Another mistake of the author which residence in any of the belligerent countries might possibly have prevented him from making is the claim that women, if given the vote, "would vote overwhelmingly against war." One who proclaims that "We Socialists take nothing for granted" might at least have spent some pains upon substantiating this claim. He might have endeavoured to show that the Socialist theory of the domination of material interests over human actions applies only to the male sex.

There are many other points of error in Mr. Benson's book, only one particularly grave one can be mentioned here. This is the statement that the power for peace and war rests solely in the hands of a few politicians. Says our author: "134 men in Congress and one man in the White House have all of the power." (p. 11). This exposes a lamentable ignorance of the true facts of the case. The politicians are the servants of the master class, acting in their interests under such cloaks of hypocrisy and cant as they can devise.

The book is not without one merit. It brings before the public notice many of the wiles with which the diplomatists and politicians have carried out their masters' work. The Bismarckian instances are very interesting reading,

though not altogether new to English readers. The events leading up to the Spanish American War are also worth perusal, and in particular the story of the "Maine." How the American Government resisted for ten long years every demand to have the sunken warship raised from the slime of Havana Harbour, and how it was eventually raised, taken out to sea, and sunk in order to destroy for ever the evidence of the falsity of the pretext for war which ten years previously it had provided, tell their own tale of Culture, as unmistakably as certain other incidents related tell theirs of Culture and Kultur.

A. E. J.

NEXT ONE PLEASE.

To the Editor.

The S.L.P. of A. in dealing with the criticism of A. E. J. in the "Weekly People" dated the 6th of March. They say: Pure and simple politics fail and always will fail the workers because they fail to attend to the one Source of Power which the workers possess, the economic power, that is, that power which the workers daily have in their hands when they are in the workshops—the power over industry.

A. E. J., in the "S.S." April issue, in the course of his remarks on the above criticism says: The idea that the workers have power over industry is exquisite foolery. What conceivable force gives them any such power, etc. In your July issue you tell the workers to use its supreme economic power for the liberation of human kind from wage slavery. Is that not a contradiction of A. E. J.'s remarks which you have endorsed by the fact that you gave publication to. What is economic power?

Yours truly,

T. W. Creswick,

Kennington, S.E.

If Mr. Creswick had given the matter a moment's thought he would have saved himself the labour of writing. The contradiction only exists in his own mind.

We may take the definition given in his own letter. That definition is narrow, but it will suffice. Economic power is power over industry. It is, as stated by A. E. J., exquisite foolery to say that the workers have this power in their hands when they are in the workshops. It is as absurd as it would be to say that the slave who lugged laboriously at an oar in a Roman galley under the lash of the slave driver had economic power in his hands. The differences between the chattel-slave and the wage-slave in this respect are due to the political rights of the latter, which are in turn the outcome of economic necessity.

In the leading article of the July "S.S." the statement occurs, referred to by our correspondent, of the need for the working class to "become masters of the State, and use its supreme economic power for the liberation of human kind from wage-slavery." This, of course, is the very reason we are a political party. It is because the State has supreme "power over industry." The article in question showed how the State was rapidly becoming more and more the direct exploiter of industrial undertakings. The political State, with its armed forces and machinery of government, is ever more obviously the supreme "power over industry" that must be captured by the working class. Until the workers control it, they are themselves controlled by it both economically and politically, that is to say, both by government and by private capitalists.

The essential difference, therefore, between economic power and political power, in this connection, is that the political power is the supreme economic power. Individual capitalists only wield economic power by virtue of their political control of the State, which guarantees, enforces, limits or extends their economic power.

This simple fact, that the political State is the supreme economic power, is always overlooked by Syndicalists. It enforces the need for political action above all, as the co-ordinate and culmination of the organised wages struggle; and it shows how entirely correct was A. E. J. in his stricture upon the S.L.P. of A.

Ed. Con.

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- "Weekly People" (New York).
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 "Freedom" (London).
 "Cotton's Weekly" (Canada).
 "Appeal to Reason" (Kansas).
 "International Socialist" (Sydney).
 "Western Clarion" (Vancouver).
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The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community.

Declaration of Principles

THE SOCIALIST PARTY of Great Britain

HOLDS—

That society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master class, and the consequent enslavement of the working class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.

That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce and those who produce but do not possess.

That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

That as in the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind, without distinction of race or sex.

That this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.

That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working-class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.

That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

The Socialist Party of Great Britain, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

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Those agreeing with the above principles and desiring enrolment in the Party, should apply for membership form to secretary of nearest branch or at Head Office.

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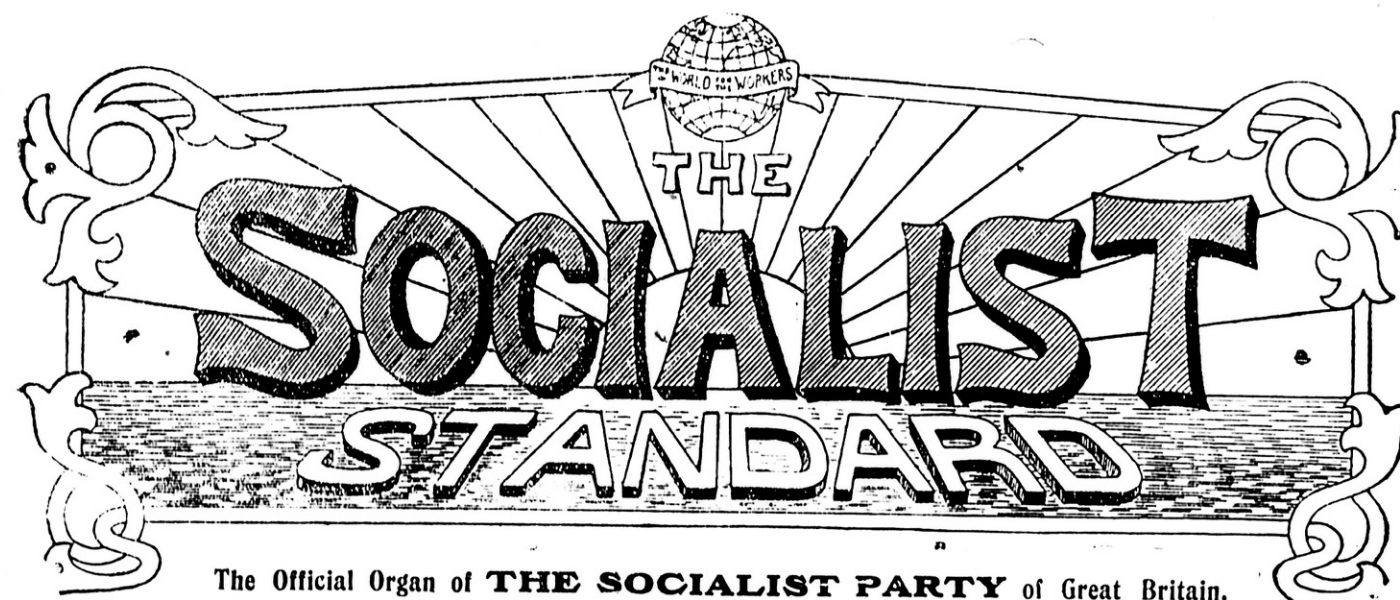
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LONDON, SEPTEMBER, 1915.

[MONTHLY, ONE PENNY.]

A HISTORIC DOCUMENT.

OUR VINDICATION.

In the course of the last few years the German Social-Democratic Party has been dealt with more than once in these columns, and the exactness of our criticism finds striking confirmation in the article here reprinted from the "International Socialist Review." The "unity," the large membership, the huge voting strength, factors that would count for so much in a working-class movement born of and maintained by Socialist knowledge—these things, when brought about by desire for reform of the capitalist system are seen to be fleeting phenomena. Again, therefore, it is permissible to point out that on the way to working-class emancipation there are no short cuts whereby the necessity of Socialist education can be obviated. All this has been demonstrated time and time again, but this article of Rosa Luxemburg's is something more than a repetition of an old warning. It shows that one of the most important lessons for the working-class movement is being learned, the errors of the past recognised. And that is why, although we cannot endorse the writer's remarks as to rebuilding the International, we welcome the pronouncement. For if, in the conditions obtaining to-day, there are those in Germany who even now are engaged in combatting the old policy of compromise, it is certain that this work and its results will increase greatly when normal conditions return.

(From the "International Socialist Review.")

The Rebuilding of the International.

BY ROSA LUXEMBURG.

(Note.—In April Rosa Luxemburg and Franz Mehring published the first number of a magazine called "The International." It proved to be also the last number, for the censor forbade its further publication. But many a journal has run on for years without printing as much interesting matter as was crowded between the covers of this one issue. Rosa Luxemburg's article was left unfinished, for she was hustled into jail before "The International" went to press. Karl Liebknecht was prevented from making his contribution; the recruiting officer laid his hands on him and sent him to a military camp. But the two editors, Clara Zetkin, and other brilliant and earnest comrades managed to get into this single number of their journal a fairly complete statement of the position of Germany's anti-war Socialists, and a thorough-going criticism of the actions and theories of the war "Socialists." The following article is reprinted here because it shows what the real Socialist of Germany are thinking at the present time. There could be no better proof of the fundamental soundness of the international movement. Rosa Luxemburg and her fellow-workers are the very best evidence to show that she is not entirely right when she says, "The International has broken down." W. E. B.)

On August 4, 1914, the German Social Democracy handed in its political resignation, and on the same date the Socialist International went to pieces. All attempts to deny it is fact or to conceal it merely serve to perpetuate the conditions which brought it about.

This breakdown is without parallel in history. Socialism or Imperialism—this is the alternative which summed up the political life of the various labour parties of the world during the past decade. In Germany especially it has formed the basis of countless programmes, discussions and publications. One of the chief purposes of the Social Democracy has been the correct formulation of thought and sentiment with regard to this alternative.

With the outbreak of the war the word became flesh; the alternative changed from a historical tendency to a political situation. Face to face with this alternative as a fact the Social Demo-

The plain facts refute this ridiculous statement of "W. E. B.'s."—Eds., "S.S."

cracy, which had been the first to recognise it and bring it to the consciousness of the working class, struck its sails and without a struggle conceded the victory to imperialism. Never before, since there has been a class struggle, since there have been political parties, has there existed a party which after fifty years of uninterrupted growth after the attainment of a pre-eminent position of power, has thus by its own act within twenty-four hours wiped itself off the map.

The apologists for this act, Kautsky among them, maintain that the whole duty of Socialists in time of war is to remain silent. Socialism, they say in effect, is a power for peace, not against war. But there is a logic of events which none can elude. The moment Socialists cease to oppose war they become, by the stern logic of events, its supporters. The labour unionists who have discontinued their struggles for improved conditions, the women who have withdrawn from Socialist agitation in order to help minimize the horrors of war, and the Socialist party leaders who spend their time in the press and in the platform securing support for the government and suppressing every effort at criticism—all of these are not merely maintaining silence. They are supporting the war as heartily as any Conservative or Centrist. When or where was there ever a war which could exhibit a similar spectacle?

Where and when was the disregard of all constitutional rights accepted with such submissiveness? When was there ever such glorification by an opposition party of the strictest censorship of the Press? Never before did a political party sacrifice its all to a cause against which it had sworn again and again to sacrifice the last drop of its blood. The mighty organisation of the Social Democracy, its much praised discipline, gave the best proof of themselves in the fact that four millions of human beings allowed themselves to be hitched to the war chariot at the command of a handful of parliamentarians. The half-century of preparation on the part of the Socialist party comes to fruition in this war. All our education of the masses makes them now the obedient and effective servants of the imperialist state. Marx, Engels and Lassalle, Liebknecht,

Bebel and Singer, trained the German proletariat in order that Hindenburg may lead it.

II.

Our official theorists are not without an explanation of this phenomenon. They are perfectly willing to explain the slight disagreement between their actions of to-day and their words of yesterday. Their apology is that "although the Social Democracy has concerned itself much with the question as to what should be done to prevent war it has never concerned itself with the problem as to what should be done after the beginning of hostilities. Ready to do everybody's bidding, this theory assures us that the present practice of our party is in most beautiful harmony with our past theories. The delightfully adaptable theory is likewise ready and willing to justify the present position of international Socialism in reference to its past. The International treated only the question of the prevention of war. But now, "war is a fact," and, as it turns out, after the outbreak of war Socialists are to be guided by entirely new principles. After war has actually begun the great problem for each proletariat is: Victory or defeat? Or, as an "Austro-Marxist" explains a nation, like any other organism, must preserve its existence. In plain language this means: The proletariat has not one fundamental principle as scientific Socialism hitherto maintained, but two, one for peace and another for war. In time of peace, we are to suppose, the workers are to take cognizance of the class-struggle within the nation and of international solidarity in relation to other countries; in time of war, on the other hand, class-solidarity becomes the dominant feature of internal affairs and the struggle against the workers of other countries dominates the proletarian view of foreign relations. To the great historic appeal of the Communist manifesto is added an important amendment, and it reads now, according to Kautsky's revision: "Workers of all lands, unite in peace and cut one another's throats in war!" To-day, "Down with the Russians and French!" To-morrow, "We are brothers all!" For, as Kautsky says in *Die Neue Zeit*, the International

is "essentially an instrument of peace," but "no effective agent in war."

This convenient theory introduces an entirely novel revision of the economic interpretation of history. Proletarian tactics before the outbreak of war and after must be based upon exactly opposite principles. This presupposes that social conditions, the bases of our tactics, are fundamentally different in war from what they are in peace. According to the economic interpretation of history as Marx established it, all history is the history of class struggles. According to Kautsky's revision we must add: except in times of war. Now human development has been periodically marked by wars. Therefore, according to this new theory, social development has gone on according to the following formula: a period of class struggles, marked by class solidarity and conflicts between the nations; and then a period of national solidarity and international conflicts—and so on indefinitely. Periodically the foundations of social life as they exist in time of peace are reversed by the outbreak of war. And again, at the moment of the signing of a treaty of peace, they are restored. This is not, evidently, progress by means of successive "catastrophes"; it is rather progress by means of a series of somersaults. Society develops, we are to suppose, like an iceberg floating down a warm current; its lower portion is melted away, it turns over, and continues this process indefinitely.

Now all the known facts of human history run counter to this new theory. They show that there is a necessary and dialectic relation between class struggle and war. The class struggle develops into war and war develops into the class struggle; and thus their essential unity is proved. It was so in the medieval cities, in the wars of the Reformation, in the Fenian wars of liberation, in the French Revolution, in the American Rebellion, in the Paris Commune, and in the Russian uprising in 1905.

Moreover, theoretically, Kautsky's idea leaves not one stone of the Marxian doctrine on another. If, as Marx supposes, neither war nor the class struggle falls from heaven, but both arise from deep social-economic causes, then they cannot disappear periodically unless their causes also go up in vapour. Now the proletarian class struggle is a necessary aspect of the wage system. But during war the wage system does not tend to disappear. On the contrary, the aspects of it which give rise to the struggle of the classes become especially prominent. Speculation, the founding of new companies to carry on war industries, military dictatorship—all these and other influences tend to increase the class differences during time of war. And likewise the class rule of the bourgeoisie is not suspended; on the contrary, with the suspension of constitutional rights it becomes sheer class dictatorship. If, then, the causes of the class struggle are multiplied, strengthened, during war, how can the inevitable result be supposed to go out of existence? Conversely, wars are at the present time a result of the competition of various capitalist groups, and of the necessity for capitalist expansion. Now these two forces are not operative only while the cannon are booming; they are active in peace as well, and it is precisely in time of peace that they influence our life in such a way as to make the outbreak of war inevitable. For war is, as Kautsky loves to quote from Clausewitz, "the continuation of politics with other means." And the imperialist phase of capitalist rule, through competition in building armaments, has made peace illusory, for it has placed us regularly under military dictatorship, and has thereby made war permanent.

Therefore our revised economic interpretation of history leads to a dilemma. Our new revisionists are between the devil and the sea. Either the class struggle persists in war as the chief life condition of the proletariat and the declaration of class harmony by Socialist leaders is a crime against the working class; or carrying on the class struggle in time of peace is a crime against the "interests of the nation" and the "security of the fatherland." Either class struggle or class harmony is the fundamental factor in our social life, both in peace and war.

Either the International must remain a heap of ruins after the war or its resurrection will take place on the basis of the class struggle

from which it took its rise in the first place. It will not appear by magic at the playing over of the old tunes which hypnotised the world before August 4. Only by definitely recognising and disowning our own weaknesses and failures since August 4, by giving up the tactics introduced since that time, can we begin the rebuilding of the International. And the first step in this direction is agitation for the ending of the war and the securing of peace on the basis of the common interests of the international proletariat.

A RENEWED ACQUAINTANCESHIP.

With the cessation of our propaganda meetings, the time hitherto spent in that direction may be spent in various ways. Our internal affairs, our Party press, and our "relations" with our comrades in distant climes are sufficient to absorb most of the meagre leisure-time allowed us by our exploiters; but the absence of the stress and bustle of our out-door work presents an occasional opportunity for us to "rest on our oars." If not one of the most instructive, at least one of the most amusing, ways of employing ourselves on these occasions is to reflect for a few moments on the types of the opponents who have essayed battle with us from time to time.

Our opponents have been, like the younger Mr. Weller's knowledge of London was, extensive and peculiar. We have had the obvious axe-grinding party hack, the honest seeker after truth, the hopeless ignoramus, the medly-mouthed, unctuous Little Bethelite, the blustering, bucolic Tory blood, and a whole horde of others. All had their interesting points, but there was one individual among them who impressed himself upon the present writer above all others.

He was a short, sparsely built man; his eyes were sad and sombre; he spoke deferentially and at times nervously. The sufferings of the working class he told us, he knew were terrible. Something ought to be done, he thought, to alleviate their lot. He always assured us of his deep sorrow and sympathy, but he used almost to shiver up with horror at our remedy. How shocking that we should try to stir up strife between the workers and the masters! Could we not see that our revolutionary doctrines would lead to bloodshed? His little sad eyes would partially close and his fragile frame shudder at the thought.

One could hardly help feeling sorry for this poor fellow. He seemed to be continually brooding over the matter. The possibility of bloodshed seemed to obsess him, and at times his wan appearance bespoke hours of anguish and distress. He surely would worry himself into his grave.

In view of the present happenings it is hardly to be wondered at that one's thoughts should wander off to that poor fellow. With millions of the world's manhood flying at one another's throats, Nature's beautiful plains and dells strewn with the dead and dying bodies of our brothers; with nooks and hillocks, the very charm of which beckons us, used to secrete instruments of death and destruction; with the accumulated knowledge of ages of science surrendered to Mars to perfect his method of murder, who could help feeling genuinely sorry for him? One wondered where he would be hiding himself, that is, if he had survived the shock.

I passed a recruiting station to-day. A voice with a suspicion of familiarity reached my ears and I glanced at the speaker. There he was, our hater of bloodshed, appealing for recruits. His eyes, open wider than ever seemed possible before, were almost bright. One missed his listless carriage; his tone was no longer deferential, it could very nearly be described as defiant. And this is what he said: "I wish I was young enough to take my place in the firing line and help to exterminate those filthy Hun-blimey! It was a funny experience for me."

W. H. S.

What do you owe to capitalism? Your chains. The "Socialist Standard" makes an excellent file.

THE CIRCULATION OF CAPITAL.

ITS EFFECT UPON SOCIETY.

In present-day society production is capitalised: that is to say, wealth functions as capital. It is the nature of this capital to take on peculiar characteristics. All capital is such that it seeks to fructify, become ever larger and larger.

The process is carried on like this. The capitalist, i.e., owner of capital, starts out with a certain amount of money for the purpose of making this amount into a larger one. This is how he sets about it. With his money he buys means of production, e.g., a workshop and machinery, and then raw materials; he next buys labour-power for the purpose of setting his works going; in other words, for producing wealth. At the end of a certain time the capitalist has goods produced of a greater value than he formerly laid out in money for procuring means of production, raw material, and labour-power, or which is the same, the money he laid out as constant capital, i.e., that portion of his capital whose value does not vary, and the money he laid out as variable capital for labour-power, i.e., that portion of his capital which brings him in extra, or added value. But yet he has not received that larger amount of money that he sets out to obtain. How then is it procured? He must deliver his goods to a certain market for sale. For instance, if it is boots he has produced then he must seek a market where boots are in demand. If he be fortunate enough to sell all, or nearly all, his boots he will then have realised his extra value, his profit, i.e., reckoning on the assumption that his boots were sold at, or about, the average market price.

It will be seen then, that capital must of necessity circulate. There must be an ever whirling round of commodities, i.e., articles of exchange. For this markets must be found; hence the keen competition that we see between the leading capitalist countries to gain colonies. This is the prime cause of wars in capitalist society. A successful war to a country is, generally speaking, a starting point for industrial development and supremacy. As De Gibbins, speaking on England's industrial greatness, said:

"The high place the nation (England) thus came to occupy was due to various causes, among which the state of European politics in the latter part of the eighteenth century may be reckoned. If we consider the condition of the great European powers after the peace which terminated the Seven Years War in 1763, we perceive that England was in a favourable position. In the first place she had seriously injured her great commercial and colonial rival, France, in her possessions both in India and North America. By the Seven Years War England had gained Canada, Florida, and all the French possessions (except New Orleans) on the Mississippi River, while in India the victories of Clive had established English influence as supreme and laid the foundation for a further extension of trade and sovereignty."

There can be no doubt about it that, with England's acquirement of colonies, her trade developed by leaps and bounds; so that it is only quite natural that the countries which have come later in the field as capitalistically developed countries should seek to gain markets. Hence the present European war which is at bottom competition for the Balkan States' and other markets.

There are, however, people of the Norman Angell type of mind (whatever that may mean), who claim that war is of no benefit at all to a country; it is caused, they say, through ignorance plus military vanity. It must be said here, that we are speaking in the capitalist sense. We agree that war does not and cannot benefit the great mass of the people of a country i.e., the workers. But it does benefit the capitalists of a victorious country as Norman Angell himself attests when quoting Sir J. R. Seeley in the appendix to his book, "The Great Illusion." Says Seeley:

"It is admitted that a particular order of men—namely, the merchants who trade with the Colonies—may have benefited from the monopoly, but their gain has been at the expense of the bulk of the nation."

Since wars are proclaimed by the ruling capitalist class, this class will see to it that there is a good chance of gain before they embark on so costly a speculation as war. So we may dismiss this Norman Angell idea by pointing out that the richest capitalist country (England) has not lost but benefited by her possessions; and that the other capitalist countries know this only too well, hence their endeavour to do likewise. The capitalist countries do not, as a rule, seek to conquer territory that has been already capitalised, as the Angellists seem to imagine, but to gain territory where capitalist conditions are very little or not at all in vogue, e.g., China.

Many times do we hear the Angell economists (?) trotting out the claim that markets are free to all; it is the one that can sell the cheapest that corners it, they say. Yes, that is all very well, but who has the monopoly of a market at the average price? Obviously the occupiers of the country or colony. For that reason a country without colonies and depending on home markets is forced to institute a system of protective tariffs to stop the influx of cheap goods.

What is the effect of the situation then? It is this: A leading capitalist country with little or no colonies must, if she wishes to capture a foreign market, undersell her competitors. She can do this by either of two methods, or by both methods together. By cutting down expenses as much as possible in the works, or by relinquishing a certain portion of the profits. The former can be done by speeding up the worker to the highest pitch, and the latter by employing commercial travellers and agents who, by various devices, such as advertising extensively, seek to get a sale for certain products: all of which expenses must come out of the profits of the capitalist. Thus it will readily be seen how handicapped the capitalists of a country without colonies are.

Further, it will be seen that the capitalists of a country so handicapped will be forced to develop their industries to the highest possible extent. In such countries like America will the anomalies that capital imposes upon society, e.g., sweating and unemployment, riches and poverty, be most marked.

With a view to helping the business man out of the difficulties of competition for markets and the antagonism of the workers, an American writer, Norris A. Brisco, A.M., Ph.D., has written a book, entitled "Economics of Efficiency." I quote you the following rather lengthy passages without any apology.

At bottom of page 3 he says:

"The nineteenth century has been frequently called the century of the machine. Successful industrial management was concerned largely with obtaining greater efficiency through two sources: firstly, the acquiring of a more efficient plant through more efficient building and arrangement, and secondly, the acquiring of more improved and specialised equipment for the different processes. Production was greatly increased, which necessitated more extensive markets. Manufacturers realised that industrial development was dependent upon markets. The question of markets has always been a fundamental one in industrial progress. Improved machinery and production on a larger scale drove the manufacturer to extend his field from the locality to the nation, and further improvements made more extended markets an absolute necessity. With the entrance of our commodities into the world's markets competition became more intense, and the question of costs became more important; but during the nineteenth century, the average employer, in his efforts to lower costs, centralised his attention upon buildings, equipment, machinery, and methods. Near the close of the century a few more enterprising employers had their attention attracted to the human element, the most important in production, and this attraction is the beginning of a new science of business, the science of efficiency, which is a secure and sound foundation for further growth and greater industrial progress."

And on page 5 we read:

"Manufacturers were amazed at the extent of the wastes which were found in their plants. Wastes of material, time and energy were found

everywhere. A prominent manufacturer declared that they were getting only about 50 per cent. of the ability of workmen in their factory. Another stated that few shops produced more than 60 per cent. of the work that it would be possible for them to produce with the same working force and the same physical equipment. The chief problem which arose was how to eliminate these wastes. How can an industrial country hampered with the presence of wastes compete with one with wastes partially or wholly eliminated? It is impossible; it is a dollar and cents proposition, and when manufacturers realise this they will pay heed to the conditions existing in their plants, and make endeavours to eliminate as much waste as possible."

Mr. Brisco recognises that markets are necessary, but since all countries cannot acquire them he thinks that the next best thing to do is to cheapen cost of production and undersell competitors. He thinks he scores with "labour" efficiency, apparently forgetting that other competitors can adopt the same methods.

In quoting him again Socialists will readily see the piquancy of the following passage. (On page 8 he writes:

"Labour should be conserved, directed, and given just and fair remuneration. Efficiency demands this, and as soon as business men realise that exploitation does not pay, and that efficiency does, the relations between employers and employees will be less antagonistic, and both will find it to their advantage to work for their common interests."

Yes, don't exploit your workmen, Mister business man, but fairly rob him!

What is then the lesson that we can derive from the foregoing? We see that the masters who control our lives and existence are merely forced, by the conditions that obtain in society, to act in certain directions whether it be the proclaiming and organising of war or shooting down defenceless strikers struggling for an existence.

The only way out for the workers is to understand the nature of present-day society and its effects upon themselves. They will then realise the necessity of a change of society where wealth functions as capital, i.e., where wealth functions for the profit of the few at the expense of the rest of society, for a society which shall have as its basis the production and distribution of wealth for the needs and requirements of society. In a word, the workers will realise that Socialism alone can save themselves and civilisation.

They will further realise that to attain Socialism they must organise as a political body, with the conscious aim of being at all times and occasions hostile to the capitalist class and their representatives.

They will not then betray working-class principles as the skunks of the I.S.P. and freaks of the I.L.P. do, but will unflinchingly uphold those principles, as the Socialist Party of Great Britain does, until working-class political supremacy and the emancipation of the proletariat shall have been attained.

L. M.

THE "TREACHERY" OF KARL MARX.

Of the many mental vacillations of the pseudo-Socialists the latest gem is a work (reviewed in the "New Witness"); "The Treachery of Marx," ("Il Tradimento di Marx") by Arturo Solucci.

We are told in the review that the author nearly seven years ago wrote that: "the only hope of creating the United States of Europe, to be followed by a world-republic, lay in the acceptance of anti-military, anti-patriotic, internationalist sentiments by all the proletariats of the world; but that while French Socialists accepted them, German Socialists held very different views."

If the "creation of the United States of Europe" to be followed by a world-republic" is a desirable objective—which we Socialists deny—something more than the recognition of the aforesaid sentiments will be required; for no revolution has yet been successful until those

desiring it had conquered the political machine. But Socialists deny the necessity to the welfare of the workers, of the proposed objective, because it negates democracy; for government of any kind spells slavery for those who are governed; and States—"United" or otherwise—presuppose government, which, whether it be "Republican" or any other variety, will be an instrument of oppression for the subjection of the proletariats of the world. There are the "United States" of America, but is the position there any better than anywhere else?

Salucci accuses Marx of ridiculing a manifesto issued by some Parisian Internationalists, on the proclamation of the French Republic.

Marx may have ridiculed the Republic as a Republic, but his position can best be seen by a perusal of his addresses to the International and "The Civil War in France,"—which relates to the Commune. But the author knows so much of his subject, that apparently he has never heard of these splendid works.

Our scribe devotes considerable space to showing that German "Socialists" supported the action of the German Government in entering into war. The fact that they did so, is sufficient to show that they either do not understand the principles which they profess to be out for (in which case they are fools), or, if they do understand these principles, then they stand convicted as rogues; in either case they are no use to the working class.

We are told that "Mazzini summed Marx up well as a man . . . without strong philosophical or religious beliefs." An acquaintance with the epoch-making work of Marx will knock the stuffing out of this statement as far as it applies to philosophic belief.

It (Marx's system) has only now been demolished (!) by criticism: his theory of values having been exploded by modern economists, and his anticipation of the 'increasing misery' which was to prepare the supreme class conflict, having been belied by facts."

All this is a pretty array of words, but what are the facts?

The Marxian examination of the economics of Capitalist Production holds the field to-day, and his Theory of Value is becoming every day more widely recognised by the working class, and ever more surely the basis of working-class economic and political action.

Why does the price of labour-power vary in different countries, aye, even in different localities of a single country? To prove that it does so it is only necessary to compare wages in London with those in the Provinces or any other part of the world. Why are women's wages less than those of men? or a child's less than those of a woman?

Obviously, the only answer that will bear the test of analysis is, that in the cases quoted the cost of production governs the price of the commodity, labour-power, as of all other commodities. Demolished! Don't they wish it was? But apparently, with some people, the continual repetition of a statement is sufficient to prove its truth.

Many alleged critics and would-be experts have attempted to smash (read criticise, analyse, revise, etc.) Marx, but the work of Marx and his collaborator, Frederick Engels, will live long in the memory of man, while the puny efforts of their traducers will speedily sink into the limbo of oblivion.

All sorts of terrible things have been said of Marx, but it has been left to a "Socialist" (Mr. Cecil Chesterton) to publish—apparently with approval—an accusation of "treachery" against him, by an obscure Italian penny-a-liner, reviewed by a well known Co-operator and Profit-Sharist, Herbert Vivian, in a journal published at the "democratic" price of 6d. weekly.

Hutch.

OUR WAR VOLUME.

The attention of readers is drawn to the probability that, on account of the number of Party manifestoes on the war it contains, there will be an exceptional demand for the volume of our Party Organ which closed with the last number. Those who desire to obtain the volume should place their orders early.

Unable to face criticism of their criminal incapacity which had plunged them into a war totally unprepared; which had sent soldiers to fight without arms; which had caused them to talk of victory instead of defence; and to gas about marching to Berlin instead of taking steps to prevent the enemy marching to London: the late unlamented Liberal Government gave up the ghost, to re-form in the company and with the

In "the house" they belittle the real cause of high prices and show how little economic knowledge they possess. They talk of drunkenness as the cause of scarcity of supplies, and gasp at the magnitude of the workers' weekly screw (one unconscious humourist described how

"Are you doing your bit?" Join the Socialist Party and do it!

calls attention to the estimate the S.L.P. Address

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seen that this theory is the very keystone of the Industrial Unionist position. Yet our opponents prefer to regard it as a "minor point" rather than undertake the hopeless task of demolishing it. Similarly with the claim that

the economic organisation is "the only conceivable force with which to back up the ballot." We have taken up that point, but the only result is that the organ of the S.L.P. reiterates the fallacy as though it was a truth too obvious for discussion. Our S.L.P. antagonists must not think that they can always burke discussion, however. Sooner or later they have got to face the music—they can harden themselves to that reflection.

EDITORIAL COMMITTEE.

BY THE WAY.

In turning over some newspapers that are several weeks old we have come across one which informs us that the annual meeting of John Brown & Co., Ltd., of Sheffield, was recently held, and that "a spirited defence of the position of armament firms in relation to the war" was made by Lord Aberconway. He says:

"The shareholders might think that the balance sheet was a war balance sheet, but it was not so. The so-called war profits that they read so much about in the papers formed only a very small percentage of the total. The company had taken advantage of low prices to supply themselves with what they wanted, and the result was that they were now able to show the largest absolute profit ever earned in the history of the Company. If munitions were short in this country it was not the fault of the armament firms. They had all done their duty, and none more so than John Brown's. Like all business men and men connected with the political world, they foresaw that a great crisis in Europe was coming, and determined to make every preparation to meet it. Now all their resources were at the disposal of the Government, and the only difficulty was shortage of men."—(Manchester Guardian, 30.6.5. Italics mine.)

The report omits to state whether the noble Lord thereupon rolled up his shirt sleeves and donned the overalls to help make up for the "shortage of men," and likewise enjoined his fellow shareholders to fall in and follow him. However, he flatly contradicts Mr. Lloyd George, who stated that "we at any rate did not organise for war."

The speaker goes on to say that, "It was wholly untrue that British firms had encouraged war propaganda. No doubt that was true of Krupp's. They did live and work for the war, but what the English firms had done was to try to 'checkmate' the efforts of firms like Krupp's, and they hoped to do so on doing so."

Those workers who have pinned their faith to the specious promises of the glib-tongued Liberal orator, Lloyd George, who prior to the war was engaged in dangling before the eyes of the working class the Liberal pill for all our ills, must recently have suffered a slight shock. The much talked of "hotels" that were to be brought into existence for those workers who had been smitten with the scourge of consumption must be deferred for awhile, for at present our masters are more concerned in the slaughter of the physically fit. The announcement with regard to these said "hotels" is as follows:

"The Treasury refused to consent to the expenditure by the Metropolitan Asylums Board on three new Sanatoria for Consumptives."—Reynolds's, 8.8.15.

In almost every direction at the present time we are hearing of the dearth of wage-slaves, and our good, patriotic bosses, who are ever on the prowl for the cheapest variety of labour-power, are more persistent than ever in their clamour for the children. A short while ago they desired boys of tender years for the coal mines—and be it remembered that they are boys of our class! Perish the thought that Lord and Lady Never-Work's sons should be called upon to do such ignoble work—now it is for the cotton trade. We read that a conference was recently held between the employers and workmen at Manchester to consider the "serious situation" which has arisen from the shortage of labour in the mills, and that little hope was entertained of an increase in the number of women workers.

"The suggestion was made that for the period of the war half-timers should be allowed in the mills at the age of eleven instead of twelve, and full-timers at twelve instead of thirteen."—Reynolds's, 8.8.15.

This desire for children in the factory hells at an age when they ought to be receiving their education and plenty of healthy recreation recalls to our mind the early days of capitalist development, and, perhaps, a short extract would not be amiss. Let me quote:

"In stench, in heated rooms, amid the constant whirling of a thousand wheels, little fingers and little feet were kept in ceaseless action, forced into unnatural activity by blows from the heavy hands and feet of the merciless over-looker, and the infliction of bodily pain by instruments of punishment invented by the sharpened ingenuity of insatiable selfishness."—Industrial History of England, p. 180.

This in many respects is what our good, benevolent, Christian masters seek to again impose upon the children of the working class under the cloak of national emergency.

On the question of Trade Unions and Munitions of War we have lately heard a great deal. One remembers quite well how the "Labour Leaders" in the House handed over the workers to the Government when the Munitions of War Bill was being rushed through the House of Commons. Mr. Hodge was highly indignant with the tramwaymen in London for striking and said: "It was a disgrace to the tramwaymen that, in this great crisis in their country's history, they should have made it impossible for workmen to get to Woolwich for the purpose of making shells and other munitions of war." He was even prepared to advocate all trades coming under the special powers of the Minister of Munitions. Whilst various groups of workers have been "swanked" into putting on one side their rules and working agreements we find that the employers are not so ready to place the "needs of the nation" in front of profit. A good illustration of this is brought to light in an article by J. O'Grady, M.P., wherein he says:

"Let me, in conclusion, cite a case I have in my mind. A dispute in a controlled establishment was submitted to arbitration. The Court decided in favour of the workmen, but the employer positively refused to carry out the terms of the award and to pay the increased wages determined upon. The employees struck work, they were hailed before the Munitions Court and fined. . . . If many of these instances occur in the working of the Munitions Act, the confidence of the workmen in the Act, and in the safeguards their trade union leaders have had incorporated in the Act will be destroyed."—Reynolds's, 15.8.15.

One wonders where the "safeguards" for the workmen are to be found in this particular Act which these trade union "leaders" helped to foist upon their dupes. We read of plenty of fines for the workers, ranging according to their wages, and in the case referred to, while the Court decided in favour of the men, here we have a trade union official and an M.P. to boot, stating that "the employer positively refused to carry out the terms of the award"; and he further suggests that the Government should compel employers to abide by the award of Arbitration Courts by imposing penalties. One is led to hope that "the confidence of the workmen" both in their misleaders and the Act will continue to be undermined.

Yet another instance is to hand of large wages offered in the columns of the Press for certain work, but which, as usual, is falsified afterwards. A clerk to a Board of Guardians stated that several women inmates of the workhouse had obtained employment as strawberry pickers and certain information as to their treatment had come to his knowledge.

"He instanced the case of a girl who had answered an advertisement which stated that pickers were able to earn from 15s. to 25s. per week, everything to be provided for them. Where that girl, with others, was employed there was nothing but a stable and some straw

for them to sleep in. This particular girl only had three half-day's work in one week and she earned 3s. 10d."—Reynolds's, 15.8.15.

Even the chairman of the Board was constrained to admit that "such a state of affairs was too bad for a 'Christian' country." What hypocrisy! Doubtless our unfortunate sisters are now sadder and wiser women and have profited much by their bitter experience of patriotism and Christian charity. THE SCOUT.

THE CADBURY FLAVOUR.

In last month's issue of the SOCIALIST STANDARD was published, side by side, two extracts from leading articles by the "Daily News and Leader"; the one declaring that the cause of the enormous strikes among the workers was the enormous increase in the cost of living, the other stating that the "working classes were receiving money in a measure without parallel." Attention was drawn to these contradictory statements, and it was suggested that the "Daily News" could only reconcile these statements by proving either in the intervening three months between the publication of them wages had risen enormously, or prices in the same period had been correspondingly reduced.

Since the appearance of the second statement—on the supposed affluence of working class—the same journal, quoting from the Board of Trade "Labour Gazette," has voluntarily furnished us with the actual figures, both as to the increased cost of living and the rise in wages.

But the figures do not help them, for we learn that the cost of living, for the year ending July 1925, has risen by 34 per cent., while wages have risen for some 2½ million workers by about three shillings per week, £400,000 being paid weekly as war bonus to that number of workers.

Next, as though they were serenely unconscious of their statement of June 14th, that the "working classes are receiving money in a measure without parallel," on August 17th they say:

"Unhappily it is on the poor that the rise falls heaviest, and that both absolutely and relatively. It is the commodities that for them form the staples of life that have advanced most rapidly. Bread, for example, is up by 40 per cent., fish by 60, tea by 30, sugar by nearly 70, and the cheaper cuts of imported beef by 60. In few families would it be true to say that the sovereign has dropped in value to thirteen shillings, for obviously only a proportion, and in the case of the well-to-do a very small proportion, of the family income is spent on food. But for the very poor, whose particular staples have advanced by the proportions indicated above, and who of necessity spend a high proportion of their wages on food, the statement almost holds good. The comparative absence of actual poverty in the poor law sense cannot obscure the existence of much hardship and penury, for the most part cheerfully borne as part of the inevitable cost of war."

The "Daily News" apparently quotes these figures for the purpose of comparison with German and Austrian food prices, which are said to have risen by 65 and over 100 per cent. respectively. We are expected to derive satisfaction from the comparison, and to remember with gratitude "the ceaseless debt of the nation to the royal navy." This is the lesson from the capitalist point of view. But the lesson we Socialists urge is that in every case it is the worker that suffers as a result of rising prices. That in the "piping times of peace," according to the late Sir H. Campbell Bannerman, thirteen millions of people in this country live on or below the poverty line; that according to capitalist authorities the average wage of the working class is less than twenty-four shillings per week.

If it could be said that this poverty were due to the failure of the working class to produce sufficient wealth to satisfy their needs there could only be one remedy: to increase efficiency and discover new and easier methods of producing wealth. But there is not one defender of the capitalist system who would dare to impute the poverty of the working class either to the lack of wealth or to their inability to satisfy all their needs by means of the existing instruments and methods of production. Neither is there a capitalist statesman or defender who dares to tell us why the working class is poor in the midst of plenty. Nor yet can they tell us how the poverty problem may be solved.

The conditions the capitalists and their huckster champion are grounded in anarchy. Such conditions cannot be honestly defended. If we are honest we must expose and condemn the capitalist system, which permits an idle class to dominate society in its own interest, imposing slavery on the mass of the people while they, the dominators, live in security and the wildest luxury. An intelligent working class cannot accept their ideas nor their view-point. The workers' philosophy must take shape around the material facts of their existence. Antagonism will naturally develop, but the working class cannot expect to reach their emancipation unless they first challenge the class that enslaves them. F. F.

EFFICIENCY OR "CA CANNY."

WHICH IS THE POLICY FOR THE WORKERS?

The system of the past has led to certain developments on the part of labour which are definitely anti-social. The deliberate restriction of output, the system known as "ca canny," has its roots in the incessant struggle of capital and labour.

The above appeared in a recent article by A. G. G. in the "Daily News & Leader" (9.8.15). As will be immediately noticed, the writer assumes that we live under a different system to-day from that before the war. Like most writers that assume this much—and there are many—he neglects to show wherein the difference exists. True, the Government have "nationalized" the railways and are exercising some control over other concerns. But the status of those who operate these concerns, as well as the rest of the working class, has not changed: they are as much wage-slaves to-day as they were before the war.

For the sake of clearness it will be as well to describe, as briefly as possible, what the system was that we lived under previous to August 4th, 1914. The land, mines, railways, factories, machinery, and all those things required by human beings to satisfy their material needs, were owned by the capitalist class. The working class owned nothing but their labour-power, which, if they did not wish to starve, they had to sell to some member or members of the capitalist class. Labour-power was a commodity, the only commodity that the workers had to dispose of in a world in which the bulk of the wealth took the form of commodities.

The price of labour-power, called wages, which represented the standard of living for the workers, was not fixed by them; it found its level as a result of the same law that governed the price of other commodities—the labour time necessary to its production. An ever-increasing army of unemployed intensified the competition between the workers and supplied the capitalists with the necessary lever to keep wages down to the level of a mere subsistence. When the workers endeavoured to force up wages, by withholding their commodity, the armed forces—controlled by the executive of the capitalist class—were used to frustrate their efforts.

Previous to August, 1914 the workers were compelled to labour unceasingly to enrich an idle master class, they themselves living and dying in poverty. That was the system; wherein has it changed since that date?

The buying and selling of labour-power is still the fundamental principle that governs social conditions and is responsible for class antagonism. The basic principle of the system remaining, the system itself is unimpaired, and those who write of the system of the past, unless they refer to Feudalism and craft guilds, chattel slavery or early communism, merely expose their ignorance as to the meaning of the word "system" when applied to society.

The purpose of this article was not to expose the ignorant or malicious misrepresentations of capitalist writers. Being, however, obliged to quote the phrase it was necessary to deal with it. What every worker must be more directly concerned with is the accusation that immediately follows it. It is difficult to imagine a more impudent slander than is contained in the assertion that the workers by restricting output are "definitely anti-social." The dullest intellect knows that the less he does, the more there is left for other workers to do. If a worker laboured effectively only two days a week he would yet

contribute that amount of labour-time to the satisfaction of human needs, while his accusers contribute nothing. The working class produce all wealth and own none. The master class produce nothing yet own all. A parasitic class that consumes without producing is itself anti-social in every bone and fibre, in every action, in its very existence; because it exists by plunder, and what can be more "definitely anti-social" than plunder?

When the Roman plebians struck against the Roman patricians, the patrician Agrippa told them that the patrician belly fed the plebeian members of the body politic. Agrippa failed to show that you feed the members of one man by filling the belly of another. And A. G. G. must utterly fail to show how the workers are acting anti-socially by restricting output, when they actually produce all the wealth in existence. The impudence of Henenius Agrippa—designed to cover up a system of plunder that could not hold a candle to capitalism—finds its parallel in the modern State with its boasted democracy, freedom and civilisation.

Of course it is quite true that this parasitic class claims to perform a function which is just as necessary as the actual work of production performed by the working class. But none of their defenders—though trained to the business—have ever succeeded in making their claim good. The ruling class of to-day is essentially an idle class, a class that knows only three objects: the accumulation of wealth, the pursuit of pleasure, and the stability of their system. The accumulation of wealth, they fondly imagine, will ensure the other two. Who is not acquainted with the saying, "wealth is power"? Money will buy troops and police to drag down the workers when rebellious; it will buy politicians, priests and labour hacks to persuade, gull and chloroform them when that way promises the best results. The "educational" process operates almost from the cradle. How many axioms could we not quote that are regularly instilled into the minds of the young, calculated to bear fruit in after years, by swelling the vast wealth owned by the ruling class? "Industry brings its own reward" is only one of these capitalist proverbs proved to be a lie by the vast majority of workers long before they reach the age of thirty—unless "reward" is to be understood satirically, and a shattered constitution and hopeless poverty are not penalties but "blessings in disguise."

Since the blighting influence of capitalism, poisoning or destroying everything that was healthy in human society, first developed, efficiency has been the constant cry of the capitalist. It has always meant less wages for the working class and more wealth for the master class. Under capitalism it is intensified exploitation of the working class. The workers are driven by competition, fair promises or slander, to increase their powers of wealth production, but lack the knowledge that would enable them to retain and enjoy the fruits of their labour.

Efficiency, or the ability of the individual to perform a necessary task adequately and with the smallest possible expenditure of energy and time, would, given a genuine co-operative organisation of society, result in a maximum of time for leisure, recreation, etc. for all. A. G. G., accepting efficiency as an abstract principle that must be good under all circumstances, pretends not to see that under capitalism its development only increases the poverty and wretchedness of the working class. In a vague way he seems to realise that it is absurd to preach efficiency to the workers. He not only says "that restriction of output has its roots in the incessant struggle of capital and labour," meaning, of course, the two classes that respectively own capital and labour-power—which is an unqualified acknowledgment of the class war, and the conflict of interests that arises through the buying and selling of labour-power. But he also recognises and says "that the way to true organisation is through the development of the co-operative principle in society."

To sum up, he admits the existence of the class war; declares that true organisation can only come through co-operation, and accuses the workers of being anti-social. He entirely neglects to charge the master class with the same crime; either on the grounds that they live by exploitation, or even by exposing such details of

the system as the formation of rings and trusts, the cornering of wheat, or the deliberate destruction of wealth in many forms, in order to force up prices.

Under capitalism the invention and introduction of labour-saving machinery and the higher skill and efficiency of the workers can have but one result, a decreasing demand for labour-power. What that means should be patent to every worker; an ever-increasing army of unemployed whose existence, combined with the desire of the capitalist for cheap labour-power, causes a steady reduction in the standard of living of the working class. It is because many workers have recognised this that a "canny" has flourished. When "co-operative principle" has been established; when the people own and control the means of wealth production, efficiency will be cultivated by them because it will enable them to perform their share of the necessary social labour in the shortest possible time; leaving them a maximum time for recreation and enjoyment.

Meanwhile, those who play at ca canny (conserving their only commodity, labour-power) are wise in their day; but that is all. Such practices cannot hold up the march of capitalism. All the petty tricks resorted to by the workers to resist exploitation are being discovered and rendered inoperative by one device or another. Their schemes to combat speeding up, and their organisations to prevent reductions in their standard of living become more futile almost daily. Their chains are being rivetted more rigidly about their limbs. The master class is uppermost in the class struggle, and emancipation—like the "will o' the wisp"—seems to play us strange pranks; but it always beckons onwards those who recognise their slavery, to combat the forces of capitalism. The class struggle is worthy of recruits in the working-class cause, and "every recruit means earlier peace": a peace that must endure because society will no longer be split into classes with conflicting interests. F. F.

JOTTINGS.

"I have confined myself intentionally to only one aspect of the cotton question; but undoubtedly we have been supplying our enemies with the means of destroying our troops ever since the beginning of the war." Sir R. W. Ramsay, "Daily Mail," July, 1915.

And what will they, the masters, say when their children ask "What did you do, daddy in the great war?"

Upon the declaration of cotton as contraband the same paper sums up in the following terms:

"How many valuable lives have been lost by this gross ineptitude it is impossible to say. Next to the blundering of the negotiations with the Balkan States and the Shell 'tragedy' it is easily the worst feature of the Government's connection with the war, bad as that is."—"Daily Mail" editorial, Aug. 21st, 1915.

WAR THE LEVELLER.

"Mr. Ben Tillot, addressing a labour meeting at Bristol yesterday, said that the hell at the front had made brothers of dukes sons and labourers' sons."

"I wish people at home could be as united in their efforts to crush the foe," he added."—"Daily Express," July 20th, 1915.

Well there now! we always asserted the certain conviction regarding the worker and his resurrection-era of affluence, but we scarcely thought it would be achieved through the crushing of some other section of the working class. Sickenings, ain't it?

Just as water finds its own level, so too do the labour misleaders find their true groove—that of dutiful devotion to the master class in time of national conflict. We were waiting for news of that peerless "Daily Herald" sun-god, Tom Mann, and here it is: ("Daily Express," 21.8.15) "Since the war began Mr. Tom Mann has visited all the ports to help in the manning of transports." D— if we didn't think so. B. B. B.

SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.**HEAD OFFICE:**

193, GRAYS INN ROAD, LONDON, W.C.

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- BATTERSEA.**—A. Jones, Sec., 3 Mathew Street, Latchmere Estate, Battersea. Branch meets every Monday at 8.30 p.m. at Laburnum House, 184, High-street, Battersea, S.W.
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- "Weekly People" (New York).
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 "Freedom" (London).
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 "Appeal to Reason" (Kansas).
 "International Socialist" (Sydney).
 "Western Clarion" (Vancouver).
 "Socialist" (Melbourne).
 "Washington Socialist" (Washington).
 "New Age" (Buffalo, N.Y.).
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The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments of producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community.

Declaration of Principles

THE SOCIALIST PARTY of Great Britain

HOLDS—

That society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master class, and the consequent enslavement of the working class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.

That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce and those who produce but do not possess.

That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

That as in the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind, without distinction of race or sex.

That this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.

That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working-class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.

That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

The Socialist Party of Great Britain, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

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LONDON, OCTOBER, 1915.

[MONTHLY, ONE PENNY.]

FOOLS LEARN BY EXPERIENCE. AND SO DO OTHER PEOPLE.

It was the custom, but a short while ago, to attribute to savage life a setting of perennial violence and promiscuous murder. It was the custom, in days yet no further from us than their rose-scented endure, and their laurels keep their freshness, to acclaim our exalted civilisation, and to gasp at the completeness of our conquest of our-elves by ourselves, and our triumph over external conditions—with the aid of God, and of parson, and of men like Mr. Lloyd George, and Lord Kitchener, and Mr. Berry, the celebrated hangman, of course. It was the custom to search the world for the Molochs of other worships and the Jauggernaut cars of other civilisations, and to use them as pin-flags to mark the course we have followed and the giddy heights we have achieved above them.

Who does not remember for what bloody butcheries and devastating conquests excuse has been found in the tyranny of native rulers and insecurity of native life? The "poor black" could never be sure, when he put his head out of his kraal in search of his morning paper, that some earlybird with a highly developed sense of humour and a capacious knife was not going to tumble that head into the milk-can. And it was suspected that, hidden away in the fastnesses of primitive forests, woolly-headed, dusky Campbell and Booths and other bogey-men were mixing up the trade of restaurateur with that of juggler, and administering the Communion with such grim realism as rendered superfluous the pronouncement "This is His flesh." Such offences against the nostrils of "our common humanity" invariably called aloud for expeditions composed mainly, after its human components, of those well-known civilising agents, bullets, bibles, and booze (three out of the famous "Four B's" of Christian pioneering—the missionary was the fourth).

Many an expedition, armed to the teeth for butchery, has left our shores on the pretext that the barbarities of little-known people shock the world and are a danger to civilisation; many an expedition, reddened to the ears with butchery, has justified its orgy of rape and murder by grim tales of mountains of skulls discovered in some dusky potentate's backyard. Civilised ruling classes have been touched to the tenderest cores of their tender hearts by savage brutality, and have expended much blood and treasure to correct the idiosyncrasies of the Mahdis, and clear up the messes of the King Coffees.

And now what a spectacle the Christian rulers of Christian lands present to the astonished eyes of savagedom!

All former hates and blood-lusts pale into insignificance compared with the consuming passions that run riot through the breasts of

"civilised" men; all former wars become mere local disturbances by comparison with this ghastly struggle which is turning countries into cemeteries and civilisation into an instrument of bloodshed; all former barbarities, whether of African despot or Asiatic ravager or European money-hunter, are eclipsed by the callous brutality of the means by which all the combatants alike seek to put out the life-spark of men in this last great crime which reveals the true visage of capitalism.

What irony survives the shock of events! It was the complaint of multitudes, when we Socialists delivered the Socialist message in the pre-war days, that any attempt to establish society upon a basis of common ownership must lead to bloodshed. The fear of such a contingency has closed to our message the ears of many whose logical faculties could permit no other escape from the general truth of our conclusions, but who had not yet appreciated the veracity of Mr. Churchill's dictum: "There are worse things than bloodshed."

But to those who feared so much the gaunt figure that lurked behind the Socialist banner what has capitalism presented—and what has it yet to present? In the first year of war about 85,000 British lost their lives in operations by land and sea, and a month later a military member of the House of Commons told us that "we have hardly yet wet our shoes." A Paris journal, "L'Œuvre," in an estimate widely quoted by the Press of this country, states that up to the end of last February, that is when the war had been in continuance only half the time that it has now, France had lost in killed alone 301,000 men, Russia 850,000, Germany 975,000, Austria 1,400,000, while the total losses in killed of all the belligerents exclusive of Turkey were 3,689,000.

If we had not wet our shoes in September we had not even soiled them in February. Since then there has been colossal fighting on the eastern front and terrible work and suffering in Gallipoli; since then there has been a costly attack and advance in France, while in addition Italy has entered the arena and made some progress in running up a tragic bill. What, then, must be the appalling death-roll now, with this second seven months' fighting added to the first?

Nor is it only in this direction that the war is robbing Socialism of its terrors. Many people in the past have stumbled over the idea that it is only the free play of capitalist competition that makes the world go round, and that without this stimulus to endeavour the means of production, wonderful as they are, would not suffice to support the race, and chaos and ruin would at once overtake us. But what do we find? where does the war demonstrate the truth to lie?

It is revealed in practice that military strength

which to-day more than ever resolves itself into the largest, and therefore the most economical output of wealth—is in inverse ratio to the free play of capitalist competition. It is seen that, so far from true is it that the ordinary private enterprise of interested capitalists, spurred on as it is by an unparalleled opportunity for gain, means efficiency, that it means, on the contrary, misdirection, waste, and chaos which must prove fatal to those foolish enough to rely upon it.

It is here that the scientific German has scored heavily over the short-sighted fools who have fondly imagined that private enterprise under the stimulus of competition would suffice for nearly all things in peace and in war. For years the German rulers have had arrangements made for a wide abandonment of the competitive processes of production in event of war. At the annual military manoeuvres a large number of German factories have been put under State control and run for a fortnight under war conditions. Whatever miscalculations the Germans made as to the requirements of modern warfare, they may, at all events, take credit for recognising from the first, and long before the outbreak of hostilities, the truth of the Socialist contention that the boasted private enterprise, under the stimulus of the competition generated by the lust for profit, is a drag upon production and a fertile source of chaos and inefficiency.

Germany acted upon this knowledge, and as a result our masters are forced to confess that, other things being equal, the only effective reply is to themselves abandon private enterprise for the time. In other words, they are forced to admit that capitalist production by private enterprise is a failure, and that only production organised on a basis from which the attributes of private enterprise are eliminated can enable them effectually to deal with a situation of their own making. To this extent, therefore, the evidence of the war is a triumph for Socialist theory which we shall know how to make good use of when the war has run its course.

But another aspect of the same question provides a useful lesson and further vindication of Socialist claims. When the war broke out the financiers and capitalist economists showed that it could not last longer than a year. The upheaval of finance, the disturbance of trade, the disruption of production—these potent factors were to cool the ardour of the most warlike in a matter of nine to twelve months, and bring peace because the resources of mankind could not support war on the colossal scale for a longer time. By all the calculations of capitalist economists, based upon the soundest of capitalist theories, the Teutonic allies, with so much of their own manhood removed from the production

of the necessities of life, with their imports and exports almost completely cut off, should have reached bankruptcy and starvation and military paralysis long before this. Yet the prognostications of the wise men, who have imagined that the only possible basis for the activities of civilised man is money, and therefore solvency, and who have stoutly denied the Socialist assertion that an enormous proportion of the human energy under capitalism is run to waste—these prognostications are pulverised by the peculiarly healthy vigour of the Austro-German entity.

Of course, the seers did not realise that a country organised for war could eliminate private enterprise and profit-hunting to any extent that its government thought necessary and its capitalist element was prepared to submit to, and thus organised on a temporary basis foreign and even antagonistic to capitalism, could go on with the war in defiance of financial dictums and capitalist economic theories, to the first of which the capitalists of that country are answerable only when the normal conditions of capitalist return, and the last of which they blast for ever.

But so it has been. The rulers of the German nation have found it possible to engage over ten millions of their seventy millions population in the direct prosecution of the war—in the actual fighting forces, and in the production and transport of munitions and other requisites of war. We may put the ordinary working strength of Germany (the number, that is, following any occupation (the housewife's duties excepted)—at from eighteen to twenty millions. We find, therefore, the remarkable spectacle in a capitalist country "organised for war," of more than one-half the working population (and the most physically efficient half at that) engaged in providing the forces and means for carrying on the conflict.

It is just this that has upset the calculations of the prophets. Plain soldiers, unhampered by economic theories and financial superstitions, knew that of the conditions essential to the carrying on of war, solvency was not one. Hence they made preparations "for three years or for the period of the war." But the theorists have had a rude awakening. It comes as a surprise to them to find that while the ordinary processes of capitalism were suspended, and to the extent that they were suspended, bankruptcy was a word without significance. It comes as a shock to them to find that the country best organised for war is forced, when up against the military resources of the greater part of capitalist civilisation, can gain additional strength only by the wider abandonment of the principles of private enterprise, and the substitution thereof of organisation on a basis which, while far as the poles asunder from Socialism, contain this element in common with Socialism, that production for profit, with its wasteful competition, gives place to production for use, with its concomitant economical co-operation.

This is proved the Socialist contention that capitalist production on normal capitalist lines, notwithstanding that such vast wealth results, is an insanely wasteful process. The very fact that the capitalists themselves are compelled at a time of stress to reject it in fields essential to the prosecution of the war speaks volumes. In this, when the war is finished, Socialist propagandists will find a powerful object-lesson to put before their fellow-workers.

It is more than possible that the war will provide even more important lessons for the working class than any here outlined so far. We all know how much the governments of the "quadruple entente" are building upon a revolt among the working class of the "enemy" countries. The contingency is not by any means remote, since it might suit the book of the Teuton militarists, should they be unable to stave off defeat in the field, as well as it would suit the purpose of our own masters and their allies. We should then probably see the erstwhile capitalist foes united in a bloody suppression having for its object the striking with terror anew the working class of the world.

But for the moment the lessons of the war are these: Firstly, that the evolution of capitalism, so far from freeing us from the bloody violence alleged to attach to savage existence, tends to make wars more colossal as the improvement in the means of production sets free a larger pro-

portion of the workers for war, and more cruel as the conquests of science place new means of butchery at the disposal of our respective masters. Secondly, the war demonstrates how small a proportion of the energy of any community, with modern instrument of labour, suffices to supply the necessities of life for the whole. Thirdly, the war reveals that private enterprise and product on for profit, so long and so sternly condemned by all Socialists, is not good enough even for the capitalists when the exigencies of a vital war make it imperative for them to make the most of their resources.

These lessons of the war will go far in the hands of those who have taken up the Socialist position, when the butchers shall have decided their quarrel by the old test, seeing who can pour out working-class blood the longest. They will, added to the grueling return which the capitalists of this country are already preparing for their disabled warriors, open eyes even that German bullets have rendered sightless for ever. Then, with the utter wantonness of this colossal destruction of life revealed in the worsened conditions of those who are everywhere bearing the brunt of the fighting and the bulk of the suffering—the working class—and with the many false friends of labour exposed and discredited for all time by their attitude during this crisis, the cause of the working class will flourish with vigour that will relieve and compensate for this dark and savage outrage upon our class.

A. E. J.

OUR CASE IN BRIEF.

At such a time of appalling misery and waste of human life as the present, it may be useful to review again the claims of the Socialists, and to set out once more the means by which they propose to reach their goal. The writer has nothing new to tell—nothing at all that he has not said many times over in these columns. Nor can he hope to say it in a different way from which he has said it all before. But the message must be repeated again and yet again, though the messenger grows sick at heart. Conditions are always changing, if the message is not, and therein lies hope sufficient for the day.

Socialists claim that human happiness rests primarily upon the security and sufficiency of the necessities of life—food, clothing, and shelter. They do not say that there are no other sources of happiness, or that security and plenty in these things must necessarily banish all unhappiness. What they contend is that these material things are the basis of human happiness viewed generally, just as they are the basis of human life itself.

Socialists maintain that the wealth produced at the present day is sufficient to afford ample of the necessities of life to every man, woman, and child in the community, while the means at the command of society are sufficient to enable that wealth to be produced by the expenditure of a comparatively small amount of the time and effort by which the working class gain their meagre livelihood to-day.

The first of these contentions, namely, that human happiness depends primarily upon the means of living, hardly needs any enlarging upon at this time of day. Everybody understands, even if he had never thought seriously about it before, that before one can have any experience at all, happy or otherwise: before one can think or act or desire, one must eat—for the simple reason that every organic activity results from the consumption of food. From this to the proposition that lack of the means of subsistence is bound to cause physical distress, and in highly sentient beings such as man, mental distress also, is a logical step. This, physical and mental distress, which, where it exists and in proportion as it exists, must inevitably undermine all happiness, can only be banished by giving sufficiency of and security in the means of subsistence.

Now as to the amount of wealth which is produced to-day, let us take the evidence of the opponents of Socialism. Mr. Chiozza Money, the Liberal M.P., an accredited capitalist statistician, estimated the national income in the year 1904 at £1,710,000,000, and he says in his book "Riches and Poverty" (page 29), "if the income of the nation were equally distributed amongst

its inhabitants a family of five persons would enjoy an income of about £200 per annum." It is seen, then, that sufficient wealth is produced to afford ample means of subsistence to all.

It must, of course, be granted that much of the wealth produced to-day takes a form which would be useless in a society where the products of labour were equally enjoyed by all, but as all this wealth is simply nature-given material to which human labour has been applied, either to change its form (as in the case of cannon) or to change its position (as in the case of coal), or to change both form and position, as in the case of most things, it would be the simplest of matters to direct all labour into channels, and turn all useful materials into forms, which would contribute to the end in view.

Is it true that the means which we possess for producing wealth to-day are sufficiently developed to enable us to maintain the present output of wealth with the expenditure of far less time and energy per head of the able-bodied population than the working-class bread-winner of to-day has to give, on the average, to the gaining of his livelihood? To commence with, think what happens to every commodity which is produced before it becomes available to fulfil the function for which human toil has fitted it—that is, before it can be consumed. It has to be sold, and perhaps sold several times. It is, in fact, produced in order to be sold, not in order to be used, though unless it was capable of being used it could not (except under false pretences) find a purchaser. This means that an enormous number of clerks, travellers, salesmen, shopkeepers, and others too numerous to mention must be maintained in labour which adds not one iota to the wealth which is produced. According to the Census returns of 1901 there were 501,294 commercial travellers and commercial and business clerks engaged in this useless labour in the United Kingdom—apart from thousands of other clerks and touts, such as those employed by lawyers, political and other organisations, for example. How many shop-assistants are wasting their time waiting for customers who do not come? How many baker's and butcher's carts chase each other over the same ground? How many canvassers, agents, and house-to-house distributors swarm the streets? And all this because goods must be sold when they are completed, instead of then being immediately available for consumption.

And as goods are produced under the present system only to be sold, so they are only produced while they can be sold. Hence there is at all times an immense army of workers unable to find employment because there is not sufficient sale for the sort of goods they are producers and distributors of. In the year when the stupendous amount of wealth mentioned by Mr. Money was produced the "percentage of members of Trade Unions making returns who were out of employment was 6.8" ("Statistical Memoranda" Cd 4671, Local Govt. Board). It is generally admitted that the unorganised trades would show an even larger unemployment percentage, but this figure applied over the whole field would give about a million workers in the country in enforced idleness.

Then even before the war there were in the Army, Navy, Police forces and Prison staffs, the very pick and flower of the race—another half-a-million men adding nothing to the wealth of community, while 50,000 persons "labour" but to keep us in the land of nod. Everywhere around us we find energy wasted, from the railway ticket-collector and the "bus company's spy to the jeweller setting diamonds in the collar of her ladyship's Pekinese pup and the flunkey buttoning up his dilettante master's breeches. And on top of all this there is that great group of the master class, to the number of about 5,000,000, who produce nothing, and who would, if they contributed workers in the same ratio as the working class, add another 2,000,000 to those available for production.

These figures, even if they may be disputed on the matter of strict accuracy, are sufficient to show that society has means to hand to produce vastly more wealth than is at present produced with the same average expenditure of time and toil which the members of the working class who are in employment render for their bare, miserable subsistence, or the same amount with far smaller average expenditure of time and

JOTTINGS.

It must not be thought that because the "Daily Herald" failed, mainly because it did not know or understand the working-class position, that (George Lansbury has given up. Oh, no! Within the pages of its successor, "The Herald," he still advances a strange and mysterious dogma. Listen to this:

Last week I said I wished Arthur Henderson would come out of the Government and against the conscriptionists, set the true ideal of national service by all for the good of all. . . . Whether or no Henderson comes into the wilderness and puts himself at the head of the working class in their march toward the promised land that march will go forward, for out of this present time of trouble and difficulty it is the only road which will lead the nations of the world to safety.

The pure insolence of young Arthur putting himself at the head of the working-class army is rather in the nature of "coming it." You must really wait, Arthur, my boy, until we've selected you. We must kick a bit about the reference, too, to "the promised land." We seem to have heard the phrase before. But let George make it clear. In the course of the same discourse he says:

We need at this moment a spiritual awakening, bidding us all cease our strife for money, for fame, or for power.

There, there, now! That's good, for is it not "light in our darkness," and does it not prove that "Capital" will probably be forestalled by—the Holy Bible.

"PROFIT" SHARING.

On Sept. 10th, 1915, the following letter appeared in the columns of the "Daily Express," written presumably by a City business man. We must compliment this good gentleman on his very correct deduction at the outset, but crave his indulgence at having to severely "strafe" him regarding his remedy.

A CHALLENGE.
To the Editor of the "Daily Express."
Sir, More than a year of the greatest trial and danger that Britain has ever known has not only failed to still the strife between capital and labour, but would even appear, on the contrary, to have widened the breach between them, and if this eternal question is not promptly, carefully, and cleverly handled it is bound to affect disastrously the improved social conditions to which we all look forward when the victory of the Allies shall have brought the great war to an end.

With a view, therefore, to making an effort towards grappling with this question in a practical manner, may I be allowed to use the medium of the widely read columns of your newspaper to issue this challenge to all or any of the responsible representatives of both capital and labour to state as frankly, briefly, and definitely as possible, through this same medium, their objections to the introduction of a system of profit-sharing into every trade, business, or industry in which it can possibly be instituted.

E. GORDON F. HIGGINSON.
Cophall-buildings, E.C.

I suppose we scarcely come within the gentleman's description of the "responsible representatives" of labour, but anyhow, we'll have a shot at dispelling his aerobically remedial notion. Briefly, we object to co-partnership because it is a complete snare and altogether useless as a means of "stilling strife." Co-partnership or any other form of so-called profit-sharing in almost every instance means extra profit for the "boss." As anything extra in wages earned by the co-partners is purely money paid for extra work done, it becomes quite obvious that the master class does not share its profits with his co-partners. As the basis of all "profit"-sharing schemes is the intensification of labour's production—as witness the introduction of professional "sloggers" as instructors—does the gentleman still miss the objective, i.e., that the displacing of many workers owing to the increased output means increased dividends for the ordinary shareholders? If the remaining workers earn, say, an average of two shillings more per week, who pockets the wages of the labourers displaced, save for the little that is necessary to woo those who, by doing their work, force them out of employment? Thus while the workmen still engaged receive a wee bit extra in return for a big bit extra, the big balance always, by some wise dispensation of providence,

finds its way into the master's pocket. Will the writer of the letter see how the scheme works at Port Sunlight, The South Metropolitan Gas Co., and many other such works and engage the confidence of the "heeds" there. The remedy for an evil will certainly never be gained by increasing the evil. Understand this, my boy, there are ten thousand ways of missing the bulls-eye but only one way to hit it.

The following is from the Bristol Congress and is worthy of a place in anybody's cutting-book:

To a resolution expressing approval of the Labour Party's action in assisting recruiting, the National Union of Clerks tabled an amendment regretting that they had not first secured from the Government guarantees of adequate provision for disabled soldiers. This "black-stirring" spirit was hotly denounced by several speakers. "Daily Mail," 10.9.15.

The report that the assembled Congress received a telegram from the disabled trade unionists offering profuse thanks for services rendered is grossly exaggerated. Some people have all the luck while gratitude pays all our debts. Needless to add the amendment was lost.

The attached cutting was something in the nature of a smack in the eye for the dear Congress delegates. It reads:

A SOCIALIST MANIFESTO.

The Socialist National Defence Committee, the members of which include Mr. H. G. Wells, Mr. Robert Blatchford, Mr. John Hodge, M.P., the acting Chairman of the Labour Party, and Mr. Charles Duncan, M.P., has issued a manifesto to the members of the Congress, in it they say:

"In this hour of supreme national peril, when the independence of the people is brutally and the established public law and liberties of Europe are ruthlessly violated, a handful of PSEUDO-SOCIALISTS in this country are breaking the national solidarity and weakening the national efforts in face of the enemy; it has become a duty for TRUE BRITISH SOCIALISTS to expose and repudiate the errors of these deceivers."

Having explained so lucidly what is the duty of "true British Socialists," the "true British Socialists" proceed to perform that duty. They accomplish the painful task of exposure and repudiation with surprising cheerfulness, proceeding upon the true British lines of the true British bulldog. They say:

"Some of them are extreme pacifists; some are aliens by both blood or sentiment, and ALL OF THEM ARE CONSCIOUSLY OR UNCONSCIOUSLY THE AGENTS OF GERMAN KAISERDOM, and traitors to the IMPERISHABLE IDEALS OF LIBERTY AND DEMOCRACY which have united free Britain, independent Belgium, and Republican France in an indivisible and glorious alliance."

One seems to see in that hoodlum jibe "alien" the moving finger of Blatchford, the "true British Socialist" who once publicly announced, (in the "Clarion") his antipathy toward Spaniards. Could any other hand so carefully have drawn that fine distinction between "German" Kaiserdom and all other kinds of Kaiserdom? or so cunningly have obscured the fact that even he could not find a term that would serve to bring autocratic Russia into that "indissoluble and glorious alliance" which had been created by the "imperishable ideals of liberty and democracy"? Yet it was easy enough. What was wrong with "Holy" Russia? That should have appealed to the author of "God and My Neighbour," and in the matter of veracity it would have matched the rest. And "lest we forget," congratulations are due to two such eminent literatures as Wells and Blatchford on the production of that gem, "aliens by both blood or sentiment." And then again the reference to "pseudo Socialists" and "true British Socialists" is indeed delightful. Fancy referring to Ben Tillet as an agent of German Kaiserdom, after all he has done, too. This is too bad, and the Tower Hiller has our deepest sympathy. Never mind, the truth about some men is never known until after they are dead, and even then you cannot find it on their tombstones. All the signatories to the manifesto are expected to figure in the next Birthday honours list.

B. B. B.

To be content with overwork, harsh treatment, and a starvation wage is to be—well, a working man. Be a man!

developed and disseminated. 4:

develop, and diversify, so does the human nature of the respective epochs change and diversify to correspond. The development of the factory system converted the merchants into factory owners and heartless sweaters of little children. The growth of capitalism brought the practice of chicanery in politics to a fine art, and converted the open ruffians of the Roman Empire into the refined Lloyd Georges of the modern world who are the acme of hypocrisy. The growth of poverty, misery, and exploitation, converts the honest, hard-working son of toil into the apostle of the Revolution and the staunch supporter of the principle of the class struggle.

Hurry up and change your natures. The sooner you join us the sooner *the war* (the modern class war) will be over. Join now! We want more men! Come in your myriads and assist us to uproot the edifice of capitalism and to give human nature a chance to exhibit its finest possibilities.

He replied, "War has strengthened the spirit of

internationalism. Throughout the neutral nations there is a fresh enthusiasm for the Army; and in Germany itself the Salvation Army is expressing a renewed loyalty to the international idea.

The only comment that it is necessary to make on such a statement is supplied all unconsciously by the interviewer, who says:

The son of William Booth finds just now his international religion buffeted by the winds of war. He of all religious leaders in this country is most concerned by the international character of the war. German Salvationists are shooting English Salvationists, and Russian Salvationists are shooting Austrian Salvationists.

And what is the Salvation Army doing in this war to interpret the spirit of Jesus? Its message in this crisis will surely show how pure and transcendental is the teaching of Christ, and how clear and unmistakable is the call of Christian duty? Here again the interview gives us some valuable information, for it says:

There are something like 40,000 Salvationists in the British Army, 20,000 of them out-and-outers, and 20,000 adherents. Some of these, as you may imagine, are troubled in their souls by having to kill. One of them mentioned this difficulty, and to him another Salvationist made answer: "Look here; what you've got to do is this: you've got to do your duty to God, and King, and country. If in the course of doing that you happen to kill your fellow-man, that's no affair of yours."

Surely nothing could be more fearless, nothing could be more truly Christian than this! Such advice given to British, to German, to Austrian, Russian and French Salvationists must be admirably calculated to bring the Kingdom of God nearer realisation on earth!

There are not lacking signs, however, that indicate that General Booth is sensible of the difficulty of his position. And to those who have been awakened only by the present crisis to question the dogma of the goodness of God, he makes effective answer:

People who accepted without murmur the atrocious suffering caused by those enemies of the human race [drugs, prostitution, and sweating] suddenly wake up now and ask, How can you believe in a God with Christians killing Christians and Europe deluged with blood? Has Christian never killed Christian till now? What nonsense they talk! This war is nothing compared with the murderous destruction of sin. God does not work like an autocrat in the moral sphere. God is omnipotent; but omnipotence cannot make five of two and two, or make a lie a truth. Why does God permit this war? Why does he permit sin? God is not responsible for sin, and he is not responsible for war. Man is responsible.

While the above sentences all those who accept the hellish conditions of capitalism as consistent with the goodness of God, it is quite futile against those who do not.

What evidence is there of the goodness of God? What evidence is there of God at all? Where, indeed, is God anything but an expression of man's ignorance in face of the awful and ruthless immensity of nature?

God, says General Booth in effect, is omnipotent, and is at the same time not omnipotent! He is the essence of all goodness, but has created war and sweating and infinite misery.

He is omniscient, and knowing all things, including man, man's sin and tendency to sin, war, anguish, destitution, wretchedness and sorrow incalculable. Yet He is not responsible. Man, his puppet, is responsible. To God is attributed all good: to man, whom God created, is attributed all evil. Such is really the meaning of General Booth's assertions. Their nonsense is evident. It is also suggested in the interview that God's plaything, man, is being punished because he has neglected the All Wise, All Powerful, and All Good God. Truly the absurdity of this cantankerous All-Goodness revails the little girl's natural history essay. "The elephant," said the young lady, "is a noble animal, but when infuriated he will not do so."

To all the Salvation Army chief's points, however, the old tent-maker has made answer from the standpoint of a true believer:

Thou who man of baser earth didst make,
And who with Eden didst devise the snake;
For all the sin wherewith the face of man
Is blackened, man's forgiveness give—and take!

The spectacle of the warring nations of Europe supplicating the same good and almighty God for armed victory over each other is ludicrous enough. Small wonder that it is subject for derision. Moreover, practically every religious sect has hastened to put its private brand of

Almighty Power at the service of the capitalist interests which are responsible for the modern machine-made murder. Chaplains and priests of many denominations are helping to stiffen the men at the front. And at home the various churches continue as best they may to swell the patriotic chorus in aid of their paymasters the ruling class.

Nevertheless the power of religion to keep the workers servile is fast waning. Technical progress, the advance of knowledge, the march of events, drive it continually farther from real life. True it is that religion cannot entirely disappear until man's relations with his fellows and with nature become clear, ordered, rational and unambiguous. True it is that man's emancipation from wage slavery, from irrational poverty and ignorance will alone finally lay the ghost of superstition. Yet the present fading of religion is an unmixed good. The power of religion has ever been potent for evil. It has been throughout political history the abettor of oppression, the enemy of freedom, of science, and of humanity. It is still used as far as practicable as the hand-maiden of class domination.

As Socialists, indeed, our main attack must be against the entrenched political power of capitalism, and to this all else must be subordinated; but the war on religion, which is the *via inertia* of human development, is part of the work that must be done in that great struggle.

The war on religion will break down the barrier that our enemies maintain against us. It will take the workers a step nearer their goal. It will open up fresh vistas to working-class intelligence and put men face to face with the bitter reality of modern social life and its trend; and this can have but one result.

In so far, therefore, as the toilers escape from the paralysing embrace of religion their advance will be freer, their vision clearer, their knowledge more profound, and their determination to make the proletarian cause triumph more unshakable. A word by the way, therefore, that helps dispense the fog of superstition, that unveils the absurdity of the claims of the priests, and that lets light in upon the indubitable fact that the workers of the world can rely on no Messiah, on no metaphysical cloud-pusher, but only on their own strong right arm, such a word by the way is not only a helpful thing, but it has an inevitable place in the greater struggle for human emancipation, in the greater battle for Socialism.

F. U. W.

WHEN PARSON SAYS LIE WE ALL LIE.

For generations parson has implored us to "let truth prevail." After all these years parson has taken to showing us how to do it—as the following witnesseth. The occasion was a recent "patriotic meeting in the park" at Grays (Essex), and I quote that excellent local dish-cloth, the "Grays and Tilbury Gazette."

The Rev. Willis Bryars, who is a member of the Grays Volunteer Training Corps, also spoke urging his hearers to ask themselves were they worthy of the great sacrifices which men were making for them. Let the young men come forward and do their best. Even if they were but 17 he would forgive them, though he was a parson, if they told the recruiting officer that they were 19 (laughter) and he was quite sure the Lord would too. (Applause.)

Ah! that got 'em proper. People do like to know the Lord's view of these little things that require parson's forgiveness. But though every one can appreciate the terrible risk the Rev. Willis Bryars is taking in attaching himself to the Grays Volunteer Training Corps, and must feel how very fortunate it was that the devout man could feel such honest confidence regarding himself as enable him to implore his audience to ask themselves whether they were "worthy of the great sacrifices which men were making for them," still it seems to my mind that what was needed was not so much parson's telling us how to let truth prevail as showing us how to do it. Personal example goes such a long way; and from my knowledge of the Lord I am sure he would freely forgive Mr. Bryars, though he is a parson, if he told the recruiting officer that he is only 40, even if he is 45, and for my part I would too.

BILL BAILEY.

THE TRADE UNIONS CONGRESS.

This year's Trades Union Congress has come and has passed to "that bourne from which no traveller returns." At Bristol the galaxy of the Trade Union world sat in conference. They sat and hatched nothing.

This year's gathering was important and historic, in fact, the latter quality was so impressed upon us by the capitalist Press that one was almost inclined to think, from the point of view of posterity, that it ran a neck-and-neck race with the Judgment Day. Leaving on one side that this was the largest congress yet held, no doubt the importance was augmented by the fact that no congress was held last year, owing to the war, and that this year's gathering was held in time of war. "The time has come," the walrus said, "to talk of many things," but the war and the problems arising therefrom, for the most part, occupied the attention of the assembled delegates.

This Bristol "rhinowag" can, however, be differentiated from its predecessors on two distinct grounds. Firstly, there was no mayor of rampant rotundity to welcome the delegates. This duty devolved upon W. Deacon, chairman of the Bristol Trades Council, and in the course of his introductory remarks he said (I quote from "Justice," 9.9.15):

The Trades Council felt that there would be no interest on the part of the Congress in being welcomed by a representative of the class they were incessantly fighting for their rights and their trade unionism.

Thus another cherished tradition is consigned to the melting-pot, and one is inclined seriously to doubt the truth of Matthew Arnold's dictum that the age of miracles is past. Secondly, there was no Congress sermon delivered with special reference to labour by one of those who toil not neither do they spin. This, perhaps, can be accounted for when one remembers the sermon delivered at the Manchester meeting of 1913, in which it was said: "The German, the French, the British workmen have no quarrel with one another." (Official Report, p. 46.) This is so true that it almost seems out of place at a Trades Union Congress, and therefore the possibility of its repetition from an ecclesiastic was dispensed with this year.

The president's (Mr. J. A. Seddon) address is felicitously described by the "Clarion" (10.9.15) as "an admirably restrained and statesmanlike performance"—a phrase one has heard in other connections from far more avowedly capitalist sources. He demanded that the Government should lift the veil of secrecy and stated that democracy was on its trial. Yes, "democracy" is on its trial; and it has been found guilty of wilful negligence of its own interests. But despite his "admirable performance," which was chiefly notable owing to his unacknowledged quotation from J. R. Lowell, the attention of the "world" was focussed upon two resolutions, the one dealing with conscription, and the other with the war.

The conscription resolution read:

That we, the delegates to this Congress, representing nearly three million organised workers, record our hearty appreciation of the magnificent response made to the call for volunteers to fight against the tyranny of militarism. We emphatically protest against the sinister efforts of a section of the reactionary Press in formulating newspaper policies for party purposes and attempting to foment on this country conscription, which always proves a burden to the workers, and will divide the nation at a time when absolute unanimity is essential. No reliable evidence has been produced to show that the voluntary system of enlistment is not adequate to meet all the Empire's requirements. We believe that all the men necessary can, and will, be obtained through a voluntary system properly organised, and we heartily support and will give every aid to the Government in their present efforts to secure the men necessary to prosecute the war to a successful issue. ("The Times," 8.9.15.)

Of course, this resolution was carried unanimously. In the course of the discussion Mr. Ben Tillett, full of ambition and table d'hôte, of "rotters" and music-hall fame, said that "he was not opposed to conscription as a theory. If there were anything in it and if he believed that it would help us to end the war sooner he would vote for it straight away." (Times, 8.9.15.)

One is strongly reminded by this attitude, of that adopted by several other well-meaning folk who are against all war in theory and in favour of all war in practice. He also suggested that "in matters so serious the Government ought to approach the Parliamentary Committee of the Congress . . . to have a heart to heart talk." Now the Cabinet is composed of Cabinet Ministers, and the foregoing suggestion contrasts strangely with his sweeping assertion at previous congresses that "no Cabinet Minister could tell the truth." (Official Report, 1913, p. 186.)

A large number of critics have regarded the carrying of this resolution as evidence of a wholehearted antagonism toward conscription on the part of the "three million organised workers." It appears, however, that in consonance with the Liberal Press, their opposition is against "Lord Northcliffe's conscription," and that, were it asked for by Lord Kitchener, they would swallow the pill without the bulge of a check. In other words, their antagonism is not to conscription *per se*, but to those who are engineering the present movement.

This view is, to a certain extent, borne out by the passing, with but seven dissentients, of the war resolution, which reads:

That this Congress, while expressing its opposition, in accordance with its previously expressed opinion, to all systems of militarism as a danger to human progress, considers the present action of Great Britain and her allies as completely justified, and expresses its horror at the atrocities which have been committed by the German and Austrian military authorities, and the callous, brutal and unnecessary sacrifice of the lives of non-combatants, including women and children; and hereby pledges itself to support the Government as far as possible in the successful prosecution of the war. ("The Times," 9.9.15.)

Its pledge to assist the Government as far as possible in the successful prosecution of the war does not bode well for the "anti-conscription" resolution in the event of the Government deciding to raise men by conscript means. Sexton (Dockers) moved the resolution, and in the course of his speech stated that this was not a capitalist war and added: "I am convinced that the Trades Unions of this country will have to put up the biggest fight when the war is over that they have ever put up in their history." ("Star," 8.9.15.) This is, no doubt, in anticipation of the way in which the capitalists will express their gratitude to the workers, and here Mr. Dooley on Capital and Labour would not be out of place.

At Christ's time Capital gathered his happy family round him in 'n' the presence of 'n' ladies in 'n' neighbourhood give them a short oration. "Me brave lads," said he, "we've had a good year (cheers). I have made a million dollars (sensation). I attribute this to me superior skill, aided by yer earnest efforts at 'n' bench an' at 'n' forge (sobs). Ye have done so well that we won't need so many iv' ye as we did (long and continuous cheers). Those iv' us who can do two men's wurk will remain, an' if possible do four. Our faithful servants," he says, "can come back in 'n' spring," he says, "if alive," he says. An' the bold artisans tossed their paper caps in 'n' air an' give three cheers for Capital. They crowded till of age crept on them, an' this retired to live on 'n' 'n' wish bones an' kind warrards they had accumulated.

Tillett had his say characteristically: "This was not a fight of the capitalists. . . . Instead of yapping like terriers, we should join hands in this great conflict." He then proceeded to yap. There are some men in this world who are loud in shouting their willingness to give their last drop of blood for their country, but who are always careful not to risk shedding the first drop. Tillett has been to the trenches—on a conducted tour.

Roberts, M.P., regretted the backwardness of Russia, but, he added, she had found her own soul. No such resolution as the following was on this year's agenda: it is found in the Official Report for the 1912 Congress, p. 201.

That this Trades Union Congress in Newport expresses its sympathy with the severe struggle of their comrades in Russia, and protests against the brutal means by which the Russian Government tries to crush the increasing solidarity of the workers, as shown in their organisations, and expresses the hope that at the forthcoming elections for the Fourth Duma the forces of reaction may be defeated, and a strong Labour representation returned to work for the overthrow of capitalism and autocracy.

The Russian autocracy, whose name was formerly synonymous with rape and rapine and ruthless repression, has now joined the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Small Nations,

which prevention, it might be added, does not like clarity, begin at home. So criticism of Russia is tantamount to treason.

The Trade unionists, as befits their political complexion, still regard the world and its affairs through the capitalist spectacles with which their masters have so kindly provided them.

The "Daily News and Leader" should rejoice at the passing of this war resolution, for in its issue of September 6th (before the discussion) it said:

It may be well that Labour should affirm its support of the Government in the conduct of the war. But everyone not wilfully blind to the fact knows that unless Labour supported the war, the war would be over in a fortnight.

This powerful organ thereby recognises the truth of our claim that in the ultimate it is the working-class upon whom the successful prosecution of, indeed, any prosecution, of the war depends. The workers are put on their backs now, because they are needed: when the war is over it will be their heads that will be punched.

The discussion of the war resolution brought forth an attack on the Government's promise to limit profits. This, in its turn, resulted, we are led to believe in a visit from Mr. Lloyd George, with halo intact. (No doubt the visit was arranged before, but anything will do for the workers.) This prophet of the promised land frankly recognised the dependence on Labour when he said "With your victory is assured: without you our cause is lost."

The Government can lose the war without you; they cannot win it without you. In a carefully phrased speech he sought to show that the Government had kept its "fair, straight forward, business-like" bargain, whereas the workers had not. The workers' representatives handed their men over to the Munitions Minister, and he sought to speed up the working class by flogging them with words. He vilified the working class much on the same lines as during his Spring campaign, when it was alleged (but, of course, not proved) that England was waging a righteous war with a "drink-sodden democracy" at home. As Mr. Lloyd George proceeded to unfold his tale of woe, one can imagine Mr. William Thorne, M.P., mumbling beneath his breath in characteristic Canning Town phraseology, "Blimey! ain't 'e 'ot!"

Although the war occupied the greater part of the attention of the Congress, it was not allowed to crowd out everything else. The old stager regarding the free access of cabs to Hyde Park appeared on the Agenda and "the delegates to a Postal Workers' resolution expressing the opinion that the nationalisation of the public services, such as the Post Office—is not necessarily advantageous to employees unless accompanied by steadily increasing democratic control and pledging the congress to work to develop public opinion on this point." This can be taken as an unsolicited testimonial to the truth of our position.

According to the "Daily News and Leader" Mr. J. Robertson (Lanarkshire Miners) stated: Official figures showed that during the fifteen years that have passed since the South African War, 20,000 men have been killed in the mines of the country, while no fewer than 2,500,000 have been seriously injured.

Verily, Peace hath her horrors much more profound than war.

The foregoing is not intended even as a brief resumé of the Trades Union Congress, but merely as a few comments. One fact stands out clearly (even if it were not discernible from other evidence): that the workers are apparently almost unanimous for the war, "the war to end war." As the "Clarion" (10.9.15) put it in a very tuneless note, "The workers, as a body, are all right." And this cannot be wondered at when one considers the multitudinous agencies all working more or less in the direction of keeping the workers "right" and from their rights. Unmistakably, the bulk of the workers think in capitalist channels and the discussion of the Trades Union Congress was nothing more nor less than the opinions of a heterogeneous collection of economists and politicians who know not whither they are going and never get there.

Presently, in "the future" that yet shall be, they will shake off their lethargy and the hypnotic influence of capitalism and then they will see the war against war, a death-struggle between

two classes ranged respectively under the banner of Socialism, symbolical of freedom, and the black flag of Capitalism, standing for death and destruction. In that war no quarter is asked, no mercy is given and no cry for peace is entertained or can be entertained until the smoke of battle has cleared away and the din has subsided: until society has emerged from slavery for the first time in its history since primitive communism, wielding its power for its own well-doing.

For while the tired waves, vainly breaking,
Seem here no painful inch to gain,
Far back, through creeks and inlets making,
Comes silent, flooding in, the main.

L. R. C.

THE REWARD OF CHARITY.

The trite old adage, "Charity covers a multitude of sins," can be exemplified to-day in many ways. One can hardly look at a daily paper, for instance, without finding most pathetic appeals for contributions to the maintenance of hospitals, orphanages, homes, and the like.

Such institutions are a feature of modern society in the "piping times of peace," when the hatchet is buried and the sword lies rusty in its sheath, and each worker has his hand at the throat of his fellow in the competition for jobs. Such institutions, indeed, are part of the masters' insurance against the workers realising the extent to which they are robbed.

However, we are living in time of war. Yes, and that but makes the position worse; for the so-called charitable institutions of peace times find their struggle for existence more intensified through having to meet the rivalry of innumerable funds having some connection with the war, and all having, broadly speaking, the same object in view, yet all in deadly rivalry with each other.

Why this rivalry? At the inception of the "National" War Relief Fund it was stated that the one fund would cover every case of distress caused by the war. Would it be uncharitable to mention the many salaries and pickings for officials which the funds provide?

These "charitable" concerns, whether pre-war or post-war organisations, have for their object the mopping up of the mess engendered by the capitalist system, notwithstanding that the ostensible reason for their existence is to relieve the "dead pool." The organisers and others connected with them know full well that while they can keep the workers contented, and therefore docile, this, coupled with an abysmal ignorance of their class position, must mean the most efficacious safeguard of the exploiters' position.

It looks very nice to see healthy specimens of the predatory class running about organising shows of all kinds for returning a little of the wealth they have stolen to those from whom they have stolen it, the workers. But we Socialists suggest the possibility of obviating the need for these degrading institutions. "Charity" being a necessary feature of capitalism, it will disappear only when the working class end the capitalist system. Let the workers, then, banish the hateful charity mongers by overthrowing their social system and establishing the Socialist Commonwealth.

TO A PATRIOT

WHO TOLD THE WRITER "SOCIALISTS WON'T FIGHT
BECAUSE THEY ARE 'OWARDS'."

Not that we fear to die, for why should we.
Who face a living death from day to day.
Fear what we know "eternal rest" to be—
A speedy end rather than slow decay?
No, what we fear is that we should be brought
To suffer wounds, disease, and lingering pain
To suffer those of brute-like cunning wrought,
Who maim the body, crush and starve the brain.
Maybe the time is nearer than we know
When we, the disinherited, the spurned,
Shall face our masters in the last great fight:
Shall wade through waste and desolating woe
Toward the splendour of a death well earned
If only life be won in death's despite.

F. J. W.

SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

HEAD OFFICE:

197, GRAYS INN ROAD, LONDON, W.C.

BRANCH DIRECTORY.

BATTERSEA.—A. Jones, Sec., 3 Mathew Street, Latchmere Estate, Battersea. Branch meets every Monday at 8.30 p.m. at Laburnum House, 184, High-street, Battersea, S.W.

BIRMINGHAM. E. Jesper, Sec., 74, Murdock-rd., Handsworth, Birmingham. Branch meets at Coffee House, Spicel-st., Bull Ring, 8 p.m. 1st & 3rd Mondays.

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“Weekly People” (New York).
“British Columbia Federationist” (Vancouver).
“Freedom” (London).
“Cotton's Weekly” (Canada).
“Appeal to Reason” (Kansas).
“International Socialist” (Sydney).
“Western Clarion” (Vancouver).
“Socialist” (Melbourne).
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The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community

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THE SOCIALIST PARTY of Great Britain

HOLDS—

That society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master class, and the consequent enslavement of the working class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.

That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce and those who produce but do not possess.

That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

That as in the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind, without distinction of race or sex.

That this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.

That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working-class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.

That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

The Socialist Party of Great Britain, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

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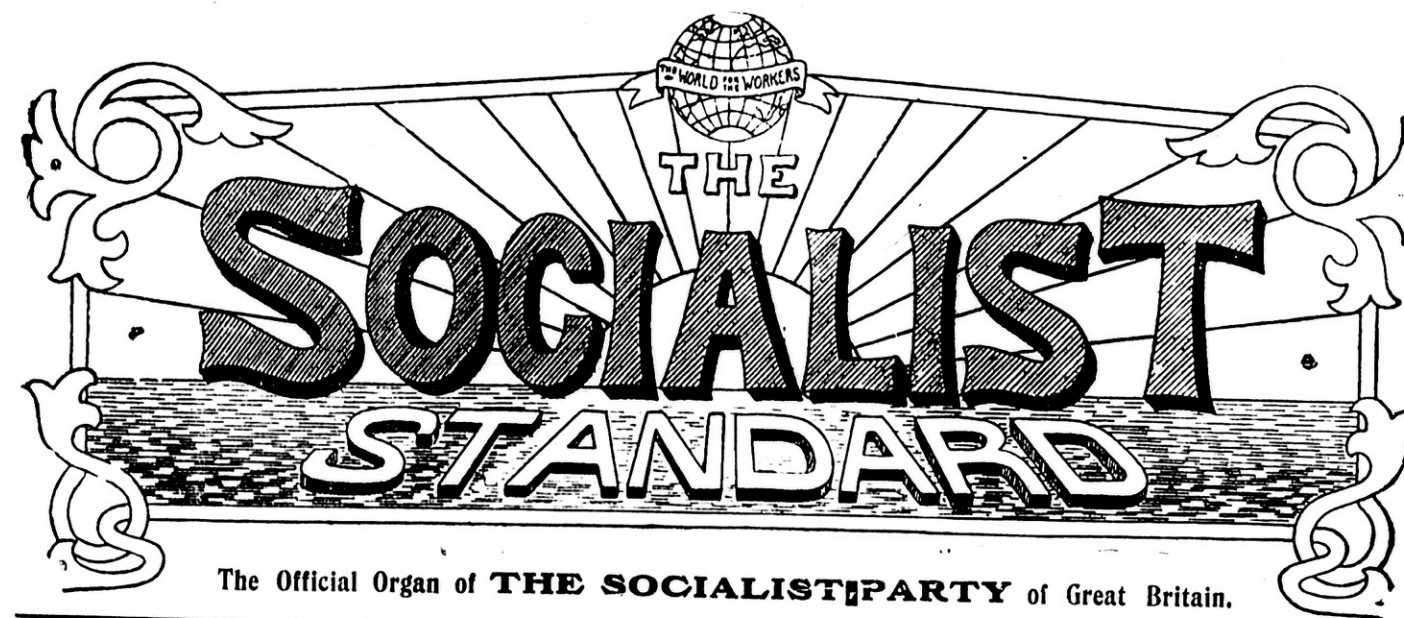
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LONDON, NOVEMBER, 1915.

[MONTHLY, ONE PENNY.]

THE FRUITS OF ANARCHY.

CURIOUS EFFECTS OF DIVERGENT INTERESTS.

When a period of trade activity has been unusually protracted, the inevitable crisis invariably startles the economists of the ruling class in the midst of ruminations on their good fortune, or genius, in having at last overcome trade epidemics. As with the trade crisis, so with war: it comes as a bolt from the blue, shattering theories, exposing contradictions, dissipating hopes, and falsifying prophecies.

Anarchy in Interests Produces Conflicting interests must always produce conflicting ideas. A survey of prevailing ideas will consequently give some notion of the underlying anarchy of capitalist interests and conditions. One group of idealists we can afford to leave to their own shallow cogitations. Those who argue that without war to develop and ennoble—and kill off the fittest—the human race is certain to degenerate. They are backed up by the "war traders" for obvious reasons. Opposed to them are the humanitarians, the anti-militarists, and the peace-loving bourgeois traders, whose ships, heavily insured, are on every sea. These traders, always fearing for their markets, express vehemently their belief in arbitration and their suspicions of diplomatists generally. In the interest of trade Andrew Carnegie subscribes two millions to finance a peace tribunal. At the same time armament firms subsidise the Press and frighten the ignorant with scares, bribe high-placed officials through their agents in all parts of the world, cater for every nation or province that happens to be afflicted with agitators, whose business it is to keep alive feuds and magnify every action of a neighbouring State into a sinister threat against the cherished freedom of the people. The following quotation from the "Daily News and Leader" (15.7.14) presents quite typically the attitude taken up (in peace times) by the peace-mongers:

If there is not soon a world-wide movement against the tyranny of war and of all the infamies associated with it, it will not be for lack of lessons. Wherever we turn, to France or Russia, Germany or Japan, Italy or our own country, the evidence accumulates of the burden which the war-traders put upon the backs of the people. Their business has no relation to patriotism. It is cosmopolitan in its operations and soulless in its motive. It works upon the fears and hates of ignorant people, uses the Press as the instrument of its purposes and makes tools of the diplomatists and the statesmen, many of whom are financially interested in its success. In Russia, in France, and now in Japan we have seen how it can buy up the very services and make lackeys of the generals and admirals of army and navy. Its maleficent influence overshadows the democracy of every land and until we have found a way of uprooting the whole evil system there will be no real progress made towards peace or an enduring civilisation.

Anarchy in Ideas. "Our own country is not excepted in this sweeping statement. The Prime Minister, when

confronted with figures relating to the operations of armament firms abroad, said he dared say the figures were correct, but he knew of no sufficient reason for instituting an enquiry. Shortly after two of the largest British firms entered into a contract with the Turkish Government to carry out extensive works at Constantinople that meant the virtual re-modelling of the Turkish navy, while just before the outbreak of the war, according to a prominent war correspondent, "the British Admiralty was leading missions of naval officers to Greece and Turkey, to hasten in co-operation with the contracting syndicates the preparation of their war forces." The same writer added: "There is not a feud, or the possibility of a feud, but these tradesmen are at hand to egg on the rival adventurers, and to 'equip' them with the latest instruments of the science and art of wholesale homicide."

The peace-mongers forget their former denunciations when their country is involved in war. The "business" of the war traders has a close "relation to patriotism" when the "latest instruments of the science and art of wholesale homicide" must be placed in the hands of the workers to defend capitalist interests. The cry is then "Pile up the munitions: more elbow room to the war traders." They forget what they have said but they cannot unsay it.

Before the war it had become almost a platitude that great wars of conquest, religious wars, etc., were things of the past: that to-day commerce and industry dictated the policies of the different nations. Since the war every capitalist hack has been busy denying the economic cause—even while crying: "Capture the enemy's" trade—repeating again and again that the struggle is between "militarism and democracy."

"Prussian militarism" has become an everyday phrase. Exactly what is meant by it has never yet been clearly explained. According to some supporters of the so-called voluntary system, it is synonymous with conscription; others affect to see a difference between the French and German forms. One fact beyond dispute is that the capitalist class of every country maintain armed forces up to the strength they deem necessary to cope with their enemies within and without; and it is even more certain that the capitalists of no country hesitate to use them when their interests are at stake. The methods may be slightly different, but the object is always the same—to retain possession or ownership of the means of life.

For instance, the Kaiser, according to Benjamin Kidd (in the "Daily News and Leader," 7.9.15), appeals directly to his conscripts, saying:

In view of the present Socialist agitation, it may come to pass that I shall command you to shoot

down your own relatives, your brothers, your sons, or parents, which God forbid, but even this you must obey without a murmur.

while Mr. Asquith, in the House of Commons **Relatives** says, in answer to a question (I quote the "Daily Chronicle," 21.3.14):

Best Apart. I think it is a very good rule, where the military force is called in to render assistance to the civil power, in exceptional cases, both as regards officers and men, so far as you can do it, to avoid the employment of those who are locally connected by personal, domestic, or social ties.

In peace time every increase in armaments raises the war discussion anew and furnishes fresh evidence in the shape of contradictions, confessions, and absurdities. Ten days before the declaration of war the United Methodist Conference passed a resolution "protesting against the ominous growth of armaments." One rev. delegate declared that

the war spirit was not in the heart of King George, the Kaiser, the House of Commons, the Reichstag, or in the hearts of the British or German people. It was in the brain of a few irresponsible journalists, who were obsessed with a dastardly kind of Imperialism. He hated strikes, but would be glad to see a strike of the great democratic forces of Europe as a protest against this wicked, inhuman, and sinful waste of money.

Note how these despicable followers of the mythical Christ are concerned for their masters' money—a fraction of which comes to them in the shape of livings. One would almost imagine it was of greater importance in their estimation than human life did one not remember that personal ambition overshadows everything else in the mind of the up-to-date Gospel hawker.

Notoriety being their goal, it does not always follow that popular ideas must be applauded; sometimes the reverse will bring a freak Non-conformist within the circle of the lime-light. At present it is almost criminal to denounce war, even in theory; yet the president of the Churchmen's Union at Rugby goes even further and denounces scientists for their share in it—possibly on principle, because he recognises the antagonism between science and religion. He

deplored the employment of the latest discoveries of science and the newest inventions of civilisation not in the service of mankind, but to kill, burn, and torture. Men of science and learning had been bribed by the rulers of nations to prostitute their powers to the invention of horrible instruments for the wholesale killing, poisoning, and torture of brave men.

Obviously this is a case of the pot reflecting on the sooty condition of the kettle. The priest is equally susceptible to capitalist bribery with the scientist, and just as ready to furnish old superstitions or manifications or manufacture new ones, to the detriment of the working class, as the scientist is to

tivate or improve instruments for the perpetration of wholesale murder.

So much for the irresponsibles. There are writers and politicians, however, that are considered authoritative; but we shall be disappointed if we expect to find their utterances free from similar contradictions and absurdities. Mr. Norman Angell in "The Great Illusion," we are told by a contemporary.

Lays down the principle, which he enforces by references to recent history, that in the case of a great war the victor suffers more in the long run than the vanquished. . . . Moreover, because also of this interdependence of our credit-built finance, the confiscation by an invader of private property . . . would so react upon the finance of the invader's country as to make the damage to the invader resulting from the confiscation exceed in value the property confiscated. . . . So that Germany's success in conquest would be a demonstration of the complete economic futility of conquest. . . . For allied reasons, in our day, the exaction of tribute from a conquered people has become an economic impossibility.

In November 1910 Mr. Asquith, speaking on the subject of international relations, furnished the occasion for a Press discussion in which prominent leader writers expressed similar views to those of Mr. Angell. The "Aberdeen Evening Gazette" (11.11.10) said:

If Germany beat us, she could not destroy our trade; she could not seize any of our colonies or annex any of our territories. She could not exact a "thousand million" indemnity, because credit is now an international business, and to impair British credit would be to shake her own. If Germany smashed us she would smash her own best customer, and her own people would pay the penalty.

The "Times" (11.11.10) said:

They move, as he says, in a vicious circle. They arm because they distrust one another, and they distrust one another because they are armed. It is a chronic malady, the cure of which Mr. Asquith is optimistic enough to hope for through the growth of a more genial spirit among the nations. A more potent agency will perhaps be the increasing complexity of international relations, which makes it difficult for one nation to damage another without almost equally damaging itself.

The "Westminster Gazette" (11.11.10) said:

Trade is a great pacificator, and the international credit on which trade rests is a thing to which war is abhorrent. The fear of breaking the peace and the difficulty of breaking it grows with the growth of armaments. And at the same time the subconscious conviction that the whole collective process is a kind of insanity must gradually project itself into the conscious proceedings of civilised nations.

These quotations are by no means isolated. In recent years similar opinions have been repeated so often that they should be familiar to every newspaper reader. But note the change since the outbreak of war. Every possible evil, from economic annihilation to wholesale slaughter, has been lunged at the heads of the workers to frighten them into the recruiting office or the munition factory. When the international capitalist class saw no immediate cause for quarrelling, their scribes told us our trade could not be destroyed by Germany, nor could our colonies or territory be annexed. A war indemnity could not be exacted by Germany because it would shake her own credit. Yet Britain's credit is to be shaken by this very action, according to every responsible newspaper, while the self-appointed "Adviser-in-Chief to the British Nation"—Mr. Horatio Bottomley—says that "we shall need an army of occupation to mind the German capital whilst the war indemnity is being paid."

Many writers have uttered grave warnings on the horrors of war, and have suggested remedies that were almost laughable—if the subject were not so tragic. Mr. Egmont Hake, in the "Daily Telegraph" of September 6, 1892, prophesied that

We shall have battles raging for days over extensive grounds, hurried and disorderly retreats, desperate pursuits, and consequently, miles of country strewn with carcasses and corpses. Should we wonder if in this tragedy Nemesis were to add her epilogue post.

and the remedy is, "a liberal support of our hospitals!"

Professor Gardiner says:

It should not be impossible to build upon the basis of the international comity of savants a society of men pledged to use their powers and discoveries not for destruction, but for saving life, not for promoting, but for moderating friction between nations.

Benjamin Kidd told us in "Social Evolution" that the Christian religion was responsible for

an ever-growing altruism and humanitarianism in the "Western civilisations." He is, perhaps, surprised at the calmness with which these peoples regard the slaughter going on to-day, though he admits his theory is falsified and that altruism is useless as a force to avert war, when he suggests that the Allies should "declare the United States of Europe"—and, one might add, arm in preparation for war with the United States of America, or some other combination of powers in competition with them for the world's markets.

But about the most outrageous thing that has been said on the war question is the reply given to those workers who asked what is their stake in the country. "Their wages." Those wages that for "millions of the workers do not suffice to replace the energy used up in their daily toil." The wages system is the most complete and tyrannical form of slavery evolved during centuries of class domination. Wage slavery squeezes every ounce of energy out of the workers and scraps them, condemns men, women, and children to degrading poverty and continual anxiety and, as "John Bull" says, "the sordid atmosphere of the office and the workshop."

This is the worker's stake in every land—if he seeks diligently and has the luck to find a master. But if he has knowledge concerning the position he will detest the wages system, and if he has wisdom in addition to knowledge he will work for its abolition and the establishment of Socialism. The nationality of his master in the meantime will not count with him: all members of the master class alike are to him parasites that live by his labour and drive him into the factory with the whip of unemployment and hunger, to be exploited.

OUR CASE IN BRIEF.

The previous article under the above heading showed how several very undesirable features of our social existence arose from the private ownership by a portion of the community of the means of production and distribution—the land, factories, machinery, railways, raw material, and the like. It was concluded that private ownership would therefore have to be abolished, and it was finally promised that in a subsequent article it would be shown what would follow that abolition and the substitution of common ownership in the means of living.

A necessary preliminary to the proper understanding of the consequences of abolishing the private ownership of property is a thorough realisation of what that form of ownership is and what it produces.

Now as the very basis of life is the means of subsistence, the production of the means of subsistence is the most important matter in human affairs. The ownership and control of the instruments and resources by and from which these means of subsistence are produced therefore become of tremendous importance. As a matter of fact the property condition is not a mere skin-deep feature of our social life, which can be changed with no more than local disturbance in that life. It is the very rock and foundation of the social edifice, and therefore a change in this property condition must involve a change in every aspect of our social existence.

Let us try and build up the main lines of our social system from the basis indicated, i.e., the private ownership of the means of living.

The first result of the means of producing and distributing wealth becoming the property of a few is to divide the community into two classes. These classes are the property-owning class and the propertyless class.

These two classes occupy entirely different positions in society—positions which must of necessity create antagonism and strife.

Those who do not possess the instruments of labour have no means in their hands of gaining a livelihood, except by selling their strength and skill to those who own the means through which alone that strength and skill can be productively applied. The positions, then, of the two classes are those of buyers and sellers of labour-power respectively.

It now becomes clear how the antagonism between the classes arises. Fundamentally there is antagonism between buyers and sellers in every market. Everywhere the seller strives to

sell as cheaply as he can, while the buyer tries to buy as cheaply as possible.

If this is true in the ordinary commodity market, how much more inevitably true must it be in the market where human labour-power is the commodity bought and sold!

For, be it remembered, human labour-power, applied to nature-given material, is the source of all that wealth by which men and women live (except, of course, such forms as are freely supplied by nature, such as air and sunlight). The wealth of the rich, the wages of the poor, are alike the product of the application of labour-power to material. Consequently, the struggle between the buyers and sellers of labour-power becomes a struggle for the possession of the product of that labour-power.

Let us be perfectly clear upon that point. To use the illustration of Marx, the product of the wage-worker is like a stick which is to be divided into two parts. The whole of the stick is comprised in the two parts, and one part can only be larger at the expense of the other. The product of the worker is divided into two parts—one part going to the worker and constituting his sole means of livelihood, the other part going to the employer and constituting his means living. The part which the worker receives is his wages; the price which the employer pays for the labour; and as the larger this portion of the "stick" is the smaller must be the portion left for the employer, the struggle between the buyers and the sellers of labour-power must be of the very bitterest nature.

Nor is this all. The private possession by the few of the means of producing wealth alters the whole character and purpose of production. While the workers had access to the means of production—while they had rights in the land and owned the tools with which they worked—they commonly produced goods for use. The peasant-proprietor of the Middle Ages wanted corn for his own bread, barley for his own ale, and so on. He set to work, therefore, and grew his own corn and barley, and his women folk turned them into bread and ale.

Now mark the different sentiments with which the old-time peasant-proprietor and the modern baker and brewer would view the articles bread and ale. The former would feel a lively interest in the product of his hands; he would be glad to know that the bread was wholesome, and he would not have to taste of the ale to know that it was good. For he and his would have produced the bread and beer to satisfy their hunger and thirst, and the idea of producing anything but the most wholesome food and drink, or of adulterating such products, would have been ludicrous to them. With what a different eye would the modern baker or brewer look upon the product of his factory! The baker would take no interest in the bread as such. Possibly he would take care to eat none of it himself. The brewer's chief concern would be to see that his beer was not a thirst-quencher but a thirst-creator. Neither the baker nor the brewer produces his goods for use; they both produce them for sale.

A simple illustration will show the difference between the two methods. The peasant-proprietor started out with a need—bread. The master baker also starts out with a need, but that need is money. The former, having produced his bread, had finished his round. If he had recorded his activities which he had no need to do, he might have written "Finis" there. But the modern master baker is required by law to record his activities, and that record commences with money and ends with money.

The baker expends money in the purchase of flour and other material, and labour-power, and he must record the fact for the satisfaction of the Official Receiver. These are converted into bread, but that is a detail of secondary importance which may or may not find a place in some minor book. What is important is the conversion of the bread into money. When that is accomplished the round is completed, the books, as far as that operation is concerned, may be closed. They record the conversion of money into material, etc., and the conversion of these into money. The money that the record started with can be compared with the money with which it finished, and the difference between the two sums shown. And only this will any man of business accept as the conclusion of the operation.

So is shown the difference in the systems of wealth production in a society based on the monopoly of the means of production by a few and a social system in which the means of production are owned by those who use them. In the one case all wealth produced presents itself as articles produced for sale, in the other case wealth, with a few exceptions, is produced for use.

The exigencies of space prevent the completion in this issue of this brief examination of the manner in which the whole of our social structure arises from and rests upon the social base—the ownership by a section of the community of the means and instruments of producing and distributing wealth. The subject will be resumed next month.

A. E. JACOMB.

THE QUEER SIDE.

Socialists have been frequently met with the taunt that they are going to "break up the home" (for firework?), "destroy the sacredness of the family hearth," "invade the innermost sanctuaries of the family life," etc., etc. How this desperate invasion was going to occur our opponents (in their usual clear-headed way) were not quite sure; but somehow or other the State (metaphysical middle heads must have Gods, you know) was going to walk in through the door (without knocking!) and tear children from their parents and wives from their husbands to make them economically independent of each other, thus destroying the calm security (!) and harmony (!) of the family circle. (Sometimes we are told that pa comes home blind drunk and beats his wife—but I forget, that is when another thesis has to be proved.)

This view receives the pious support of wealthy men doubtless from the knowledge that the economic independence of working women will mean the end of their present paradise, in which they enjoy (like their prototypes, the beasts) the almost unlimited satisfaction of their sexual appetites. An examination of the true facts of the case, however, shows the hollow hypocrisy of the plea.

The average working-class family of the past century and a half has been composed of wage-workers—from the child of 8 or 10 who sells papers and delivers milk, to the father and mother who work in the factories, sometimes alternately—the one through the day and the other through the night.

The number of females who have appeared upon the labour market has grown year by year. Every year sees fresh branches of industry open to women, and the ties of the family are necessarily loosened, to be eventually torn asunder, not by the growth of Socialism, but by the iron hand of modern industrial conditions.

Women are more submissive, more long-suffering, and more economical wage-slaves than men, and are therefore introduced wherever possible by our philanthropic and tender-hearted masters. In the early development of machinery the workman saw in the machine his mortal enemy, and the smashing of the machine instead of the smashing of the system was the order of the day, as witness the historic Luddite Riots. Now that the greater number of the workers have become operators of machinery, their antipathy to the "iron man" has died, although quietly and insidiously the machine is rendering unnecessary larger and larger proportions of workers in every department of capitalism. Now that women are replacing men in their various spheres the enmity of the men is directed toward the women instead of against the system that breeds such conflicting tendencies.

Another asset of the present war to the capitalist class has been the opportunity offered to experiment in the introduction of women into departments of work which they were hitherto supposed to be physically incapable of performing. The following extract from the "Daily Mail" (16.9.15) will illustrate the point:

The great movement among women toward filling up gaps in labour is shown in all classes of work; but nowhere more strikingly than in the big munitions iron works. That woman's work in this new sphere is satisfactory is acknowledged by works managers and foremen. Asked if a motor cylinder would offer greater difficulty than a shell to bore one of these men said, "Hardly any." "A woman, then,

could go in for ordinary industrial steel working, lathe work, screw-cutting, and the like, just as well as a man?" "Certainly, for the general run of work."

A quotation from the same paper of another date (10.9.15), dealing with the interim report of the committee appointed by the British Association is also enlightening:

In some cases the experience gained during the war had shown that certain jobs could be more efficiently done by women than by men.

The great increase of women's employment could hardly fail to have permanent results, and it might be anticipated that after the war the proportion of women in industry would be greater than before and the competition of men and women would increase.

Now what about the sacred family circle? The wave of female labour is to be converted into a torrent, and the war-warrior who returns from the battle-fields (poor crippled, broken wrecks) will find a labour-market clogged with women competitors, the standard of living lowered, and the general conditions of the workers worse than before the war commenced. A splendid reward for all your hardship and sacrifice, ye poor deluded fellow-workers.

Of course, the "family hearth" ghost is easily laid by the worker who reflects on his present penurious and work-weary condition; and the prospect of that mythical sacredness being violated under Socialism has no terrors for him. I may suggest, however, that the love which is born of economic necessity can neither be so deep nor so lasting as that which exists between those who are economically independent of each other and who seek each other's company and affection purely from mutual esteem.

The Socialist, in promoting the common-ownership and democratic control of all that nature, ingenuity, and human energy can produce—in suggesting the equitable distribution of the burdens as well as the pleasures of life—is also giving the opportunity for human affection to develop to its highest and purest form.

Whilst turning out an old drawer the writer came upon the following quotation from "Lloyd's Weekly" (31.3.12). It is worth treasuring.

Arrangements are being made at Lyons to celebrate next year the centenary of the birth of the inventor of the sewing machine, Barthélemy Thimmonier, who died in 1857 an abject poverty. . . . Reuter.

The above fate has been the reward of the majority of the brilliant thinkers who, applying their brains to the various spheres of production, have assisted largely in the rapid evolution of modern industry, in which those wonderful machines and processes operate to enslave the ignorant masses.

For the present the wealthy shareholders of the Singer Sewing Machine Company and their international fellow capitalists reap the fruits of the inventor's toiling brain. But when the worker awakens and hails the dawn of freedom with open clear eyes, those same mighty brains and marvellous machines will be converted into a means to lighten labour and increase the sum total of human happiness.

In the days that are to come, fellow workers, remember the annals of your class. Remember the bloody massacres of your fellows upon the industrial and political battlefields. Remember the sweating and the destruction of child life, and the violation of womanhood. Remember!—and proceed unswervingly upon your course. Do not be deterred from prosecuting the war of your class by the sentimental humbugs who regard the destruction of vermin as a crime against "God's creatures," and are for ever trying to divert the attention of the workers from the main issue—their emancipation from wage-slavery.

The war between the exploiting and exploited classes can only end with the extinction of one or the other. The "war that will end war" is the war waged by the down-trodden masses against their task-masters; and victory will signify the abolition for ever of privilege, private property, and its accompanying oppressions.

The place for all working men who would play a man's part in the struggle of their class is under the red banner of Socialism, sounding the tocsin of the Revolution. There they will ally themselves with comrades worthy of their aid.

GILMAC.

SOCIALISM V. PEACEMONGERING.

The so-called "Peace" propaganda of today is associated by most people with Socialism and the Socialist Party.

The plain fact, however, is that Socialism has very little in common with it. The "Peace movement" specially signify? It stands for an alteration in diplomatic methods between various capitalist Courts, and at the present time it is in favour of stating the terms upon which the combatants are willing to declare "peace."

What is distinctive about Socialism that separates it from all other movements of social activity?

Briefly, Socialism differs from other phases of social thought in that it stands for the overthrow of modern society based upon class ownership of the necessities of life and the building up in its stead of a society of wealth producers owning the means of life in common. What, on the other hand, does the "Peace movement" specially signify? It stands for an alteration in diplomatic methods between various capitalist Courts, and at the present time it is in favour of stating the terms upon which the combatants are willing to declare "peace."

Socialism fights for the removal of a system of society which works out to the detriment of the many. The "Peace Crusaders" are out for an alteration in the method of government whereby the wars between capitalist countries can be reduced or abolished.

Socialism declares in favour of a new system wherein capital and capitalist governments cease to be. "Peace" propagandists by no means unite in condemning capitalist society, and they are mostly opposed to a change in the system altogether.

What is the Socialist attitude to war? It is that war as we know it is produced in the main by the conflict between the interests of capitalists of various nations. It is born of the rivalry between sellers of goods for profit, and it can only die when selling for profit is abolished. In other words, Socialist theory holds and capitalist practice proves that only by ending the entire capitalist system can war with all its attendant horrors cease.

War, in the words of the "Peace" propagandists, is due to secret diplomacy, misunderstandings between Courts, and a vicious newspaper Press. These things, however, are but results of the workings of the system itself, and whilst the latter remains, the effects, in the shape of secret diplomacy, etc., will continue.

This article is being written in mid Atlantic, away from all books of reference, and consequently exact quotations cannot be given. But the reader need only refer to the literature of the Union for Democratic Control and the Peace Societies for confirmation of the statements made.

Consider the personnel of the Peace advocates and see what sanction of Socialism there exists amongst them.

Mr. Possonby is one of the most noted of the Peace persuaders of the day and he is a Liberal M.P. Mr. Trevelyan is a late Minister of the Liberal Government and resigned upon the occasion of the declaration of war. Mr. John Burns resigned his Cabinet membership upon the same occasion. Lord Morley left high office at the same time. M. E. D. Morel has never been associated with Socialism and is simply a reformer who, when occasion calls, can be quite as much an Empire-builder as the most notorious supporter of the war. Witness his appeal for British versus French sovereignty in the Congo. (See "The British Case in the French Congo," by E. D. Morel.)

All sorts of appeals are made to the Socialist Party to join forces with these "anti-war" organisations, but it is deaf to all such cries. Not because we do not yearn for the cessation of the war. By no means so. Socialists above all others realise the horrors always following in the train of war. We know and feel the wreckage of human ties, the break-up of family life, the sorrow and suffering arising from the brutal carnage. But there are two important reasons why we cannot associate with the various "Peace" and "Stop the War" organisations.

Firstly, because we abide by the dictates of the class struggle. Because we stand for Socialism and they do not. Because we refuse to associate with those who support the capitalist

(Continued on p. 22.)

Historical materialism does not exclude the

influence of tradition, or deny the usefulness of studying the past experience of society and turning it to good effect; for in the same work we have it stated: "The tradition of all past generations weighs like an Alp upon the brain of the living." In considering the ideas, institutions, and history of a given period, therefore, not only have the natural and artificial conditions of the society in question to be examined, but also those of the previous societies which may have influenced it, together with the traditions, customs, and institutions which have persisted from times earlier.

ETHICS AND RELIGION.

Many institutions and ideas originated out of man's contact with external nature in very early times, and although modified by subsequent economic development, they persist throughout history. Among this class, may be mentioned the fundamental ethical principles, and also religion.

Morality, as Darwin has shown, originally consists of certain social instincts necessary for the preservation of society. He traces them back to our pre-human progenitors, and indeed they must assert themselves to some degree in all organised communities whether animal or human. Man being by nature a gregarious animal, the instinct of sociability is part of his physical make-up. Darwin says in his "Descent of Man" (page 149): "any animal endowed with well-marked social instincts, the parental and filial affections being here included, would inevitably acquire a moral sense or conscience, as soon as its intellectual powers had become as well or nearly as well developed as in Man."

The social instincts, however, become modified by the social transformations which occur as a result of economic development. In a hunting community, for instance, the killing of newly-born infants at a time of food scarcity is considered no crime. Infanticide is, indeed, one of the most universal customs among savage peoples, who find the struggle for existence very keen, it being in the interests of the tribe to keep down the number of consumers as much as possible; and, where children are to be saved, preference is given to males as forming potential hunters, thus increasing the productive capacity of the tribe. In an agricultural community, however, where food is more plentiful and more regularly obtained, infanticide is no longer practised, and it comes to be looked upon as horrid and immoral in the extreme.

In class societies the prevailing ethical code is always that best suited to the interests of the ruling class. Old ideas are cast aside or are modified to justify their position. This, of course, is necessary, for no ruling class ever maintains its supremacy for long by physical force alone. Chattel slavery was moral in America until it was discovered in the North that wage-labour was cheaper, and it is interesting to note that both North and South obtained the support of the Bible for their respective positions.

Religion arises out of the relations between savage man and the unknown and to him, mysterious forces and phenomena around him. The partial or total lack of consciousness caused by sleep and by death, and also dreams, were explained by assuming the living body to be the temporary abode of a soul or spirit (the Egyptian Ka) which leaves the body for longer or shorter periods. The wind, fire, smoke, thunder, etc., were regarded as manifestations of these ghosts which became objects of fear and veneration.

The spirit of a dead chieftain in course of time is elevated to the dignity of a god with power over various natural forces. He is conceived of by the living of his tribe or people in the shape of a glorified personification of themselves. Thus Thor, the Scandinavian god of thunder, was a mighty warrior, the sparks and noise from the crash of whose battle-axe constituted the lightning and the thunder. The beliefs of the Norsemen, indeed, form an excellent illustration of the intimate connection between material condition and theology. The discovery of the smelting of iron-ore had raised them to the upper stage of barbarism the "Heroic Age" of history. Now, the iron sword and scale armour supplanted the cruder and less effective weapons of the earlier period. The warrior class became predominant, and when one of the mighty ones passed away, his corpse,

together with his paraphernalia of battle, were burned in his Viking vessel, that his spirit, clad in ghostly armour and armed with ethereal weapons might ascend to the "Hall of Valhalla," there to live with his ancestors.

The rise and further development by modification of religion is excellently dealt with in the pamphlet on the subject issued by the Socialist Party, and need not be longer dwelt upon here. Nevertheless, an interesting illustration given by Marx, of the effect of changed conditions upon religious opinions, and also showing how the ideas of the ruling class are accepted in the main by the mass of the community, may not be out of place. Writing upon the Crimean War, Marx says:

We see England, professedly Protestant, allied with France, professedly Catholic (damnable heretical as they are in each other's eyes, according to the orthodox phraseology of both), for the purpose of defending Turkey, a Mohammedan power, whose destruction they ought most religiously to desire, against the aggressions of "holy" Russia, a power Christian like themselves. . . . To perfectly appreciate this state of things we must call to mind the period of the Crusades, when Western Europe, so late as the thirteenth century, undertook a "holy" war against the "infidel" Turks for the possession of the Holy Sepulchre. Western Europe now not only acquiesces in the Mussulman jurisdiction over the Sepulchre, but goes so far as to laugh at the contests and rivalries of the Greek and Latin monks to obtain undivided possession of a shrine once so much coveted by all Christendom; and when Christian Russia steps forward to "protect" the Christian subjects of the Porte, Western Europe of to-day arrays itself in arms against the Czar to thwart a design which it would once have deemed highly laudable and righteous. To drive the Moslems out of Europe would once have roused the zeal of England and France; to prevent the Turks from being driven out of Europe is now the most cherished resolve of those nations. So broad a gulf stands between the Europe of the nineteenth and the Europe of the thirteenth century! So fallen away since the latter epoch is the political influence of religious dogma.

We have carefully watched for any expression of the purely ecclesiastical view of the European crisis, and have only found one pamphlet by a Cambridge D.D., and one North British Reviewer for England, and the Paris Univers for France, which have dogmatically represented the defence of a Mohammedan power by Christendom as absolutely sinful; and these pronouncements have remained without an echo in either country. "Eastern Question," pp. 181-3.

CLASSES AND THE STATE.

Religion and ethics we characterised as deriving their origin in man's natural environment. A further set of institutions arise only at a certain stage of economic development. Occupying a prominent place among this division of institutions are the State with its political and juridical sub-divisions, and social classes. The distinguishing feature between classes is the mode by which the members thereof obtain the wealth which is necessary for their subsistence; except in those cases where the class in question is a remnant of a decaying order of society, in which case it sometimes happens that it will retain its distinction, by reason of its political power, and the force of tradition, after all economic distinction has passed away. This state of things can, however, but be of temporary duration, as instanced by the Roman patricians who in time lost the political privileges which were their only distinction from the upper or wealthy land-owning plebeians.

Although there have been classes, such as handicraftsmen, who worked with their own tools and material, and owned the product of their labour and were, therefore, to a large degree economically independent, the most typical form of class division is that between producers and non-producers, exploiting and exploited. The division of society into producers and non-producers only arises when the productive forces have progressed to a certain point; for, when man's whole time was occupied in providing the necessities for his own continued existence, there could be no idle class. When it became possible to produce a surplus of wealth over and above that essential for the maintenance of the producer, the war captives previously slaughtered or eaten, were set to work for their captors whose sole property they became. Thus arose chattel slavery, the first form of exploitation. Three historical varieties of exploitation may be distinguished: chattel-slavery, where the slave was bodily owned by somebody and was bought and sold, typical of ancient civilisation; serfdom, where the serf

produces part time for himself, and part time for his lord to whom he owes allegiance, and who gives in return protection, prevalent in the Middle Ages, and wherever feudalism exists; wage-slavery, where the worker is "free" to work for anyone who will employ him, but being propertyless is compelled on pain of starvation to sell his labouring power to one who owns tools and material for production, thereby losing all claim to the product of his labour, the value of which must be greater than that which is paid to him as wages, this form characterises the modern capitalist epoch.

It is out of the growth of classes that the State arises. Wherever ruling and oppressed exist, the ruling class must control a coercive force, the function of which is to keep in subjection the exploited class and maintain the existing order of property conditions. "The antique state was, therefore," says Engels, "the state of the slave owners for the purpose of holding the slaves in check. The feudal state was the organ of the nobility for the oppression of the serfs and dependent farmers. The modern representative state is the tool of the capitalist exploiters of wage labour." "Origin of the Family, etc.," page 208. The political State marks the dawn of the era of civilisation.

THE CLASS STRUGGLE.

The nature of and the relations between the classes of any epoch, are determined primarily by the mode of production operative, which gives rise to certain forms of property. When new productive methods arrive, new classes are born into society. The struggle for supremacy between the old methods and the new, reflects itself in the struggle between the classes whose material interests are bound up with the respective modes of production. The struggle between classes having divergent and clashing interests, has been behind all the political contests, upheavals, and revolutions which have characterised the history of society since the epoch of civilisation was entered upon. The control of the State, the stronghold of every ruling class, has been the objective in every struggle for emancipation.

The class war, more enduring and pitiless in its form than any other war, contains innumerable instances of the savage extremes to which a ruling class will go when its material interests are menaced. Brutal suppression, followed by wholesale crucifixions, was the price paid by the revolting slaves of Roman days; and this finds its counterpart in the crushing of the peasant risings in medieval Europe, and in modern times by the massacres of proletarians, after the Paris Commune in France, on the Rand, in Colorado, and in Dublin, Featherstone, and elsewhere in these British islands. "The civilisation and justice of bourgeois order comes out in its lurid light whenever the slaves and drudges of that order rise against their masters. Then this civilisation and justice stand forth as undisguised savagery and lawless revenge. Each new crisis in the class struggle between the appropriators and the producers brings out this fact more gloriously." (Marx's "Civil War in France," Page 68.)

However necessary were classes at the period in social evolution at which they arose, it can no longer be claimed that such is the case now. In support of this first proposition, Engel says ("Anti Dühring," page 209):

Slavery first made the division of labour between agriculture and industry completely possible and brought into existence the flower of the old world, Greece. Without slavery there would have been no Grecian State, no Grecian art and science, and no Roman Empire. There would have been no modern Europe without the foundation of Greece and Rome. We must not forget that our entire economic, political and intellectual development has its foundation in a state of society in which slavery was regarded universally as necessary. In this sense we may say that without the ancient slavery there would have been no modern Socialism.

But he also says in the same work (page 211):

As long as the actual working people claim that they have no time left at the close of their necessary labours to attend to the common business of society the organisation of labour, the business of the government, the administration of justice, art, science, etc., just so long will distinct classes exist which are free from actual labour to carry on these functions. . . . The development of the great industry with its enormous increase in the forces of production, for the first time permitted the subdivision of labour

in all the social grades and this allowed the reduction of the time necessary for labour so that enough leisure remains for all to take part in the actual public business, theoretical as well as practical. So that now for the first time the dominant and exploiting classes have become superfluous and even an obstacle to social progress.

The bourgeois era has fulfilled its "historic mission"—the organisation and development of the machine process of industry—but it has now become a fetter upon the full utilisation of the great powers it has created. Just as the feudal forms and restrictions hindered the expansion of the capitalist method of production, so now, socialised production cries out for the social ownership and control of the productive forces, which the revolutionary proletariat alone can establish. As the bourgeoisie rising to power swept aside the remnants of feudalism which obstructed its progress, and reared a social edifice adapted to its own mode of production, so the proletarians realising the interests of their class, must seize upon the governmental power, and establish that form of society which economic evolution demands.

With the rise to political predominance of the working class and the subsequent institution of Socialism, the period of classes and class struggles with its concomitant social forms, including the State, will be at an end, and a new era will be entered upon.

To this end let all our energies concentrate. With the lamp of science held up to the record of history, let us read its lesson aright. Guided by the class-struggle, with faith in the soundness of their position, let us spread this knowledge of Marxian teaching among the wage-slaves of the world. To them as to us, the work of Marx and Engels stands, a beacon light, shedding rays around it; shining down the path of man's social history it illuminates the gloomy passages of his past. Ahead, its beams piercing the haze, light upon a glorious future, which through the triumph of the workers will become the heritage of all mankind.

R. W. Housley.

OUR SHIFTY PAYMASTERS.

The debate on the Finance Bill in the House of Commons on October 13th was a typical expression of the shuffling methods of our masters. Those who call the tune were quarrelling over the payment of the piper.

The course of this debate exhibited, as usual, the truth of the Socialist's contention that economic interests are the prime factors in all historical movements, no matter how much idealistic puff is put into the movements. The attitude of the international money-bags has shown the mercenary motives at the bottom of the present war, in spite of the "sanctity of small nations" twaddle.

Here, in this debate on the distribution of the expenses of the war, we have the clashing interests of all sections of the capitalist class.

The business was opened by a certain Mr. Lough, whose main bone of contention appeared to be the Excess Profits Tax, and he proceeded to set forth the views of our masters on business generally, which views are very enlightening! "Profits in business," says he, "seem to me the same thing as victories in war." The noble gentleman was not far wide of the mark that time, and he evidently adheres to our position that the profits of the masters are made out of the blood of the workers. Further on he says: "It is a serious thing to plunge into the question of measuring too closely with a 12 inch rule the exact profits that have been made during the few months since the commencement of the war." We should say not! It might, perhaps, awaken some suspicion in the minds of those who are giving their blood—for what? "Trading Companies are generally collections of poor people"! Such as the Northcliffe, the Liptons, the Brunner Monds, etc., etc.!

Further on he says, tearfully: "It has been suggested that the blotted people in the trading concerns of the country are not doing their duty in the war. I repudiate the suggestion altogether. As far as I know, every one of the great trading concerns has its Roll of Honour. A large percentage of their men have gone to the front, and many of them have paid the penalty." How truly blind the trading community really is.

They have sent their men (their wage-slaves) out to die.

Here is another gem: "Profits are the wages of our class and wages are the dividends of another class." There is one difference—wages are on an average the smallest sum that will suffice to keep together the body and soul of a worker and reproduce the necessary working-power, while dividends are anything up to millions of pounds. One is the price of a worker's labour-power, and often of his life; the other is the idler's revenue.

"Do not take a weapon that will damage interests of the greatest importance," he wailed, but not a word of regret as to the damaging of human flesh and blood.

The sycophantic Philip Snowden then rose and delivered a long address, taking great care not to tread on anybody's corns; in fact, he comforted himself as a "thorough gentleman." In the course of his remarks this professional toady said: "I am very glad to be able to join in what is the universal testimony and tribute of this country to the sacrifice of life which both the middle and aristocratic classes have made, but in the matter of wealth they are not paying their fair share of the cost of the war." Fancy thanking our masters for the paltry few who have risked anything in their war in comparison with the myriads of wage slaves! This is the man deluded workers once called a "Socialist"!

Sir G. Younger also objected to the Excess Profits Tax on the ground that it would put English firms who are now on war work in a disadvantageous position with American firms at the end of the war.

T. M. Healy, in the course of his remarks, made the following enlightening statement with reference to the Income Tax: "You are charging those unfortunate professional men, clerks and others, with incomes of £2 and £3 per week. The Government are going to call upon them for £2, £3, and £5, out of their incomes, and all in connection with a war from which they gain no practical benefit, and these people in Ireland belong to the very classes who have given their sons and brothers to fight." Tim had better be careful as he is sailing very close to the wind in his excitement. Healy makes use of the above to appeal for a fair share of munition work on behalf of the Irish manufacturers, who, he is afraid, are likely to lose in competition with the English. What he is really out for, of course, is cheap labour, being of opinion that increased taxation will mean higher wages.

Sir Alexander Henderson let out a wail of woe on behalf of the poor devil who, through the proposed tax, would be compelled to exist on the paltry sum of £1,800 per year! Listen, O ye slaves, to this tale of woe! "The man that has £1,812 a year would find it, and does find it, very difficult to reduce his expenditure down to the reduced amount of £3,600. If he is only to spend half of that and his expenditure, which was £1,812, is to be reduced to £1,800, I take the figure of £5,000 as an example to us how impossible is the suggestion. All a man's plans in life are more or less made up and fixed according to the income he has had for many years, and to suggest that an expenditure of £4,800 can be reduced to £1,800 is a practical impossibility." Of course it is! The idea is simply absurd. Now you starlings of the workshop and factory who are only called upon to give your life blood in the business, surely you will have pity on the noble lord in his dilemma! £3,000 a year to be chucked overboard! Why, it's preposterous.

After Sir Arthur Markham (shareholder in mines) had suggested that all working men ought to be taxed during the war (their lives are not enough!) in accordance with their ability to pay, urging that "there are many working men earning very high wages who can well afford to make a contribution towards the expenses of the war," (think of the poor, poverty-stricken £1,800 a year merchant, and woe!) our old friend, Mr. Samuel Samuel, rose on behalf of the trading section. "We are the wealthiest country in the world," says he, and a little further on, "I am sure the Chancellor of the Exchequer will appreciate that the wealth of the nation is in the main the wealth of the individuals who make up the nation," (what marvelous insight and subtlety!) "those people who

spend their lives in business (Lipton, Rothschild, Duke of Devonshire, Duke of Sutherland, etc.) and who by their industry (!!) give employment to the millions of working people." Dear, kind, benevolent souls! Further on he says: "If you take away not only the surplus profits during the period of the war, but impose large taxes besides, then, when the time comes and we have to enter the markets of the world in competition with other countries, the industrial and commercial classes will be unable to meet that competition with any prospect of success."

It is strange what things leak out when the thieves are squabbling. Lough pointed out that the Cabinet were not taxing themselves under the excess profits tax, and Sir Alfred Mond drew attention to the "fact that a deputation of a certain number of English motor-car manufacturers waited upon the officials at the Treasury in order to press for a Protective Tariff," and asks if the new motor tax is the result. Lough also said: "We know that motor-cars are being taxed because of a certain motor-car which is imported into this country from America, with which at the present time English motor-car manufacturers are not able to compete, and consequently British manufacturers require protection against that import until the time comes that they will once more be able to compete with it." (What is the difference between Free Traders and Protectionists? He also pointed out that the "Evening News" had vigorously defended the tax on films imported into this country and pointed out that one of the Directors of the Association that owns the "Evening News"—Mr. Tod Anderson—has 3,000 shares in Regal Films Ltd. This is letting the cat out of the bag with a vengeance.

(All the above quotations are taken from "Parliamentary Debates," Vol. 71, No. 101.)

Thus the debate went on. Each interest squabbling sordidly as to who shall bear the least part of the expenses of the war—each trying to shift the burden on to other shoulders. If space would permit and the patience of the readers held out I could quote enough to fill columns showing the cold-blooded, mercenary spirit of the masters throughout this debate. While they are spending hours shifting the burden of payment, the latest returns show, according to Mr. Outhwaite (Parliamentary Debates, Vol. 71, No. 103, p. 1571) that British casualties up to 10th Oct. in the Dardanelles alone amount to 96,899!

Such are the men who run "our" Empire; and such are the exalted views that guide them! Now, fellow slaves, what are you fighting for? Think!

M. G.

SOCIALISM V. PEACEMONGERS—Continued.

class during "peace" time and who fight for the subjection of the working class. Therefore we cannot ally ourselves with those capitalists and clergymen, ex Cabinet Ministers and would-be Cabinet Ministers. We refuse to lower the Socialist flag to march with the enemies of Socialism. We know that, given the realisation of the whole of the Peace parties' programme, the horrors and misery of working-class slavery would be left untouched for the better. The very men who seek our help for "peace" now would be amongst the first to "war" on the working class.

The second reason for which we cannot unite with the stop the war movement is that it is impotent for its very object. Even if we held that it was policy to unite to stop the war it would be foolish to join in the programme of these societies. What machinery have they for stopping wars? None. Appeals to capitalists are their general methods. They propose to leave in power the makers of wars, the capitalist class. They intend to continue the profit-making system which itself produces commercial rivalry and inevitably international warfare.

Surely it is not now doubted that wars are born of the fight for spoil between capitalists. Throughout the last hundred years the economic objects of the various wars has stood out so clearly as to compel even capitalist writers to admit it.

Men such as the War Correspondent of the "Daily News," H. N. Brailsford, in his "War of Steel and Gold"; the member of the late Liberal Government, John M. Robertson, in his

"Psychology of Jingoism" and "Patriotism and Empire"; the "Daily Mail" War Correspondent during the Russo-Japanese War, F. A. McKenzie, in his "Tragedy of Korea." These and a list of others can be quoted to show that wars are caused in the ultimate analysis by the struggle for trade and territory by the master class.

Listen to the present clamour for "capturing the enemy's trade," putting a tariff upon enemy's goods, and such pocket appeals and judge the truth of the Socialist view.

If you wish to stop all wars you must stop all commercial competition and to do this you must work for Socialism. A. Kohn.

SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

RECEIVED—

"Weekly People" (New York).
"British Columbia Federationist" (Vancouver).
"Freedom" (London).
"Cotton's Weekly" (Canada).
"Appeal to Reason" (Kansas).
"International Socialist" (Sydney).
"Western Clarion" (Vancouver).
"Socialist" (Melbourne).
"Washington Socialist" (Washington).
"New Age" (Buffalo, N.Y.).
"Industrial Union News" (Detroit).

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OBJECT.

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community

Declaration of Principles

THE SOCIALIST PARTY of Great Britain

HOLDS—

That society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master class, and the consequent enslavement of the working class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.

That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce and those who produce but do not possess.

That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

That as in the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind, without distinction of race or sex.

That this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.

That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working-class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.

That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

The Socialist Party of Great Britain, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

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LONDON, DECEMBER, 1915.

[MONTHLY, ONE PENNY.]

WHAT IS PATRIOTISM?

AN ANALYSIS.

The answer depends largely upon the point of view. From one standpoint patriotism appears as the actual religion of the modern State. From another it is the decadence and perversion of a noble and deep-rooted impulse of loyalty to the

The Johnsonian Definition and Others.

social unit, acquired by mankind during the earliest stages of social life. From yet another viewpoint, that of capitalist interests, patriotism is nothing more or less than a convenient and potent instrument of domination.

The word itself, both etymologically and historically, has its root in paternity. In tribal days the feeling of social solidarity, which has now become debased into patriotism, was completely bound up with the religion of ancestor worship. In tribal religion, as in the tribe itself, all were united by ties of blood. The gods and their rites and ceremonies were exclusive to the tribesmen. All strangers were rigidly debarred from worship. The gods themselves were usually dead warriors. Every war was a holy war. Among the ancient Israelites, for instance, the holy Ark of Jehovah¹ was accompanied by the tribes to battle. It was this abode or movable tomb of the ancestral deity that went with the Jews in their march through the desert, and even to Jericho: playing an important part in the fall of that remarkable city. All the traditions of the Jewish religion, in fact, were identified with great national triumphs.

Thus tribal religion was completely interwoven with tribal aspirations and integrity. Tribal "patriotism" and religion were identical. Indeed, without the strongest possible social bond, without a kind of "patriotism" that implied the unhesitating self-sacrifice of the individual for the communal existence, it would have been utterly impossible for tribal man to have won through to civilization. Natural selection insured that only those social groups which developed this supreme instinct of mutual aid could survive; the rest were crushed out in the struggle for existence. Is it a matter for wonder if it be found that such a magnificent social impulse, so vital to the struggling groups of tribal man, received periodical consecration in the willing human sacrifices so common in primitive religious ceremonial? Bound up with the deliberate manufacture of gods for the protection of the tribe and its works, there is indicated a social recognition of the need for, and value of, the sacrifice of the individual for the common weal.

This noble impulse of social solidarity is the common inheritance of all mankind. But being a powerful social force it has lent itself to exploitation. Therefore with the development of class rule this great impulse is made subordinate

to the class interests of the rulers. It becomes debased and perverted to definite anti-social ends. As soon as the people become a slave class "the land of their fathers" is theirs no more. Patriotism to them becomes a fraudulent thing. The "country" is that of their masters alone. Nevertheless, the instinct of loyalty to the community is too deep-seated to be eradicated so easily, and it becomes a deadly weapon in the hands of the rulers against the people themselves.

With the decay of society based on kinship, religion changed also; and from being tribal and exclusive it became universal and propagandist. "Patriotism" at the same time began to distinguish itself from religion. The instinctive tribal loyalty became transformed, by the aid of religion and the fiction of kinship, into political loyalty. In a number of instances in political society, as in Tudor England, the struggle for priority between religion and patriotism became so acute as to help in the introduction of a more subservient form of religion. Thus patriotism became emancipated from religion, and the latter became a mere accessory to patriotism as handmaiden of class rule.

Though universal religion did not split up at the same time as the great empire that gave it birth, patriotism did so. The latter has, in fact, always adapted, enlarged, or contracted itself to fit the existing political unit, whether feudal estate, village, township, country, kingdom, republic or empire. No political form has been too absurd for it to fill with its loyalty. No discordance of race, colour or language has been universally effective against it.

What, then, is patriotism in essence to-day? It is usually defined as being devotion to the land of our fathers. But which is the land of our fathers? Our fathers came from many different parts of the world. The political division of the world in which we live is an artificial entity. The land has been wrested from other races. The nation they call "ours" is the result of a conquest over original inhabitants, and over ourselves, by successive ruling classes. Unlike the free tribesmen we are hirelings; we possess no country.

Nationality, of which patriotism is the superstition, covers no real entity other than that of a common oppression, a unified government. It does not comprise any unity of race, for in no nation is there one pure race, or anything like it. It does not cover a unity of language, for scarcely a nation exists in which several distinct languages are not indigenous. Nor is it any fixity of territory, for this changes from decade to decade, while the inhabitants of the transferred territory have to transfer their allegiance, their patriotism, to the new nation.

The only universal bond of nationality or patriotism that exists for us to-day is, then, that of subjection to a single government. Patriotism in the worker is pride in the common yoke imposed by a politically united ruling class. Yet it is this artificial entity that

The Product of the Analysis.

we are called upon to honour above life itself. This badge of political servitude is called an object worthy of supreme sacrifice. The workers are expected to abandon all vital interests and sacrifice all they hold dear for the preservation of an artificial nationality that is little more than a manufactured unit of discord: a mere focus of economic and political strife.

Thus one of the noblest fruits of man's social evolution—the impulse of sacrifice for the social existence—is being prostituted by the capitalist class to maintain a system of exploitation, to obtain a commercial supremacy, and preserve or extend the boundaries of a superfluous political entity. The workers are duped by the ruling class into sacrificing themselves for the preservation of a politico-economic yoke of a particular form and colour. Many so-called Socialists have fallen headlong into this obvious trap.

Had social solidarity developed in equal measure with the broadening of men's real interests, it would now be universal in character instead of national. The wholesale mixture of races, and the economic interdependence of the whole world, show that nationalism is now a barrier, and patriotism, as we know it, a curse. Only the whole world can now be rightly called the land of our fathers. Only in the service of the people of the whole world, and not against those of any part of it, can the instinct of social service find its highest and complete expression. The great Socialist has pointed the way. He did not call upon the workers of Germany alone to unite. He appealed to the toilers of the whole world to join hands; to a whole world of labour whose only less could be its parti-coloured chains. And in this alone lies the consummation of that tribal instinct of social solidarity of which patriotism is the perverted descendant.

Capitalism, therefore, stands as the barrier the destruction of which will not only set free the productive forces of society for the good of

all, but will also liberate human solidarity and brotherhood from the narrow confines of nationality and patriotism. Only victorious labour can make true the simple but pregnant statement: "mankind are my brethren, the world is my country." Patriotism and nationalism as we know them will then be remembered only as artificial restrictions of men's sympathy and mutual help; as obstacles to the expansion of the human mind, as impediments to the needful and helpful development of human unity.

and co-operation; as bonds that bound men to slavery; as incentives that set brothers at each others' throats.

Despite its shameless perversion by a robber class the great impulse to human solidarity is by no means dead. Economic factors give it an ever firmer basis, and in the Socialist movement it develops apace. Even the hellish system of individualism, with its doctrine of every man for himself and the devil take the hindmost, has been unable to kill it. And in the great class struggle of the workers against the drones, of the socially useful against the socially pernicious, in this last great struggle for the liberation of humanity from wage slavery, the great principle of human solidarity, based upon the necessities of to-day and impelled by the deep-seated instincts of the race, will come to full fruition and win its supreme historical battle.

That is our hope and inspiration. For the present, however, we are surrounded by the horrors of war added to the horrors of exploitation, and subjected to the operation of open repression as well as to the arts of hypocrisy and fraud. With the weakening power of religion to keep the workers obedient, the false cult of nationality and patriotism is being exploited to the full. Like religion, patriotism has its vestments, its ceremonies, its sacred emblems, its sacred hymns and inspired music; all of which are called in aid of the class interests of our masters, and utilised desperately to lure millions to the shambles for their benefit. Thus is an heroic and glorious social impulse perverted and debased to the support of a regime of wage-slavery, and to the furtherance of the damnable policy of the slave-holding class: to divide and rule.

E. C. W.

A FAKIR FLOORED.

Small incidents often illustrate large truths. Constantly the Socialist urges upon the working class the necessity for depending upon themselves and their own efforts to accomplish their emancipation, and to drop the superstition, so widely taught by the agents of the master class, that "they must have leaders." "Somebody at the head," etc., to guide them on their way.

The formation of the Socialist Party of Great Britain was an important instance of the understanding by those who formed it, of the folly of relying on "leaders," and of the determination to rid themselves of such hindrances. But the potential "leader" is always wandering round looking for his opportunity, and the S.P.G.B. seemed to offer such an opportunity to one of these persons of the name of C. Lehane.

He was one of the original members of the Party, and was its first secretary, in which position he worked hard for some time. Then he began his scheming. Resigning his post as secretary he indulged in some underhand work to push one of his satellites into the position he had vacated. The attempt failed and Lehane began his intrigues at the Islington Branch of the S.P.G.B. that ended in his being expelled from the Party, by a Party vote, along with several members of that Branch. The facts of the case are set out in an article in the February, 1907 issue of the "Socialist Standard."

Even then his attempt did not end, for he and his followers claimed still to be members of the S.P.G.B., although in the same breath they denounced the Party as "rotten," and "corrupt," and further ran meetings etc. against us; but their farcical situation fizzled out in a few weeks.

The memory of this incident is revived by some newspaper cuttings from America, added to some notes from a couple of correspondents there. Some months ago Lehane left England for America, and a farewell supper was given to him that was attended by a number of notorious Labour frauds and leaders.

Evidently the name of the S.P.G.B. and its reputation were important assets in Lehane's estimation, for shortly after reaching America, in an interview published in the "New York Call," we find the following paragraph:

"He [Lehane] led the revolutionary wing of the English Socialist movement during the internal struggles of 1904, and founded the Socialist Party of Great Britain, whose first secretary he became. He

founded and edited for the first two years the London "Socialist Standard."

All the statements in the above paragraph are false with the exception of the one stating that he was the Party's first secretary, while with a modesty somewhat unusual in Lehane, he quite omitted to tell the reporter that he had been expelled from the S.P.G.B.

The formation of the S.P.G.B. was not due to any individual, but was the result of the agitation by a section of the rank and file inside the old Social Democratic Federation (now the B.S.P.) for a straight Socialist policy. This agitation had been going on for some years before Lehane came to England, and so far was he from "leading" this wing, a thing they refused to allow any one to do, that he sat on the fence most of the time apparently trying to judge where the best chance of a job existed, and only threw in his lot with the seceders from the S.D.F. at the last moment. Neither did he found the "Socialist Standard." This was done by the Party at the suggestion of the 1st Executive Committee, and E. Erick was first editor of the paper. Neither then nor at any other time had Lehane any hand in the editing or making up of the "Socialist Standard."

The "Call" reporter stated that Lehane showed him "credentials" from Bob Williams, Jim Larkin, Ben Tillett, Jim Connolly, Harry Lee, etc. Every one of these names stinks in the nostrils of the Socialists here because of its notorious record. Tillett's sly fakirism and dirty capitalist crawling is known the world over, and has reached its present limit in the cowardly, lying recruiting campaign he is conducting to-day.

The reporter opens the interview with the remark: "We usually associate the qualities and characteristics of a man with those of his friends"—a wordy paraphrase of a terse Irish saying: "Tell me your company and I'll tell you your character." The application in the present instance is striking. The association with such glaring frauds upon the working class as those given in the list above is a fair indication of the character and attitude of these deliberately seeking such association—as Lehane has done.

One of our correspondents sends us some statements Lehane made at a meeting in Detroit, Michigan, and they bear out completely the character one would be led to expect from such companions. Thus he is reported to have said, among other things:

We do things different in Ireland. There we have ONE GREAT UNION, which includes everybody, from bank managers to the ordinary labourer.

For instance, this is the way we organise in Ireland. In Sligo there are docks, and instead of having the members go out to find the jobs they go to the union headquarters, and the bosses telephone for the number of hands they want. We then send the men, and when the work is finished the men DON'T GET PAID, but the union gets the money and DIVIDES IT BETWEEN ALL THE MEN, WHETHER THEY WORKED OR NOT.

IF such a travesty of a union should ever exist it is clear that it would only be an agency of the masters, as, apart from other points, it would be quite illegal to pay such wages to the union. Of course, no one on this side of the Atlantic has ever heard of such a comic-opera organisation, even in Ireland, while the ruthless and successful actions of the bosses in Belfast, Dublin, etc., where the men were completely defeated under Larkin's leadership, show how stupid a liar is Lehane.

When he said he "knew France well" because "he had been in Brussels," he was simply illuminating his appalling ignorance, that would appear to be matched only by his colossal conceit.

Another absurd statement was that: "Before the end of the war we are going to establish the Co-operative Commonwealth in Ireland," and "in case we have to fight we will be able to use our Citizen Army which consists of 4,700 men armed with Springfield rifles and 3 machine guns." To give the measure of this statement it is only necessary to say that England has over 4,000,000 men under arms at the present moment; large numbers are also joining every day—either from fear of the sack or conscription—her navy is larger now than ever in its history; her munitions of war, despite all the muddling, are amazing in quantity; and her

credit good in all neutral countries. To pretend to pit 4,700 men, even if armed with Springfield rifles (that are inferior to the British service rifle) and 3 machine guns against this powerful combination of forces is not even farcical—it is utterly idiotic.

The cream of the joke, however, is the ironic fact that, except for the purpose of putting a rapid end to the rising, the English Government need not move a single soldier or gunboat to crush it. When the Home Rule Bill was passing through Parliament a great deal of bluff and bluster was indulged in by both "Unionists" and "Home Rulers" and both sides began to raise and arm "Volunteer" forces to fight over the question. Large claims were made as to the numbers each had—sometimes figures of over 100,000 men on each side being given. The War came and then these "opposing" forces joined in their declaration to fight the German and sent men to the Front. In a newspaper controversy a short time ago each side claimed to have sent over 30,000 men to the Army, a rather nasty knock to their previous bluff. The important point, however, is that these 60,000 "Volunteers" would readily combine to shoot down the 4,700 men of the "Citizen" Army to whose objects and views they are strongly opposed. The English Government could therefore easily win by merely setting one set of Irishmen against the other, as they did at Dublin and elsewhere.

The "New York World" of July 3rd, 1915 quotes from an address by Lehane to the American Labour unions where he states that: "The moment that the first British officer places his hand on the shoulder of an Irish working-man to draft him for war will be the moment when the social revolution that has been brewing in Ireland for many years will break out." This statement shows either an astounding ignorance of the conditions in Ireland or else the lengths to which Lehane is prepared to go in his attempts to bluff the workers of America.

In the fulsome flattery poured out in the interview published in the "Call" we are told: "Perhaps no man of his time has brought more worthy recruits to the ranks of the International Socialist movement."

It would be interesting to know the reporter's reasons for such a claim. How baseless is the boast is best shown by the fact that the recruits Lehane could in any sense claim to be responsible for were those members of the Islington Branch who, sleep-like, followed him into—and out of—that Branch without ever having understood the principles of Socialism.

Doubtless the difficulty he found in getting hold of a soft job over here has been the decisive factor in his journeying to the wider land of the West, where, thousands of miles from those who know him, he may fancy himself free from any danger of exposure while gulling and exploiting the workers there. And for a time, under the peculiarly suitable patronage of the "Socialist" Party of America he may succeed in his mission. But sooner or later the truth will catch him up and our repudiation of his claims upon our work and organisation lay him bare for what he is.

Ed. Com.

SOCIALISM OR UTOPIA?

From the present writer's experience there still appears to be a considerable number of people who regard the Socialist as a utopian—a kind of mystic idealist who spends his time dreaming about a beautiful New World, weaving all manner of fanciful details from that ethereal entity, imagination. Yet why?

If we turn to the official Declaration of Principles of the Socialist Party we find no trace of this fantastic frame of mind. It expresses nothing but the relations of forces actually existing at the present time, and only asserts anything concerning the future as the direct outcome of these relations. To the "genuine idealist" this attitude must appear "grossly materialistic," while even the "practical man" is invariably found criticising it for the very reason that it is devoid of any detailed elaboration.

Seeing, however, that all erroneous notions must reflect some facts albeit in a distorted

out-of-focus fashion, it is well to discover such modicum of truth as may exist in anti-Socialist criticism before considering the case settled. While the modern Socialist, following the scientific method of Marx and Engels, can effectually clear himself of the charge of Utopianism, so much cannot be said of the forerunners of the movement such as Owen, St. Simon and Fourier. Our opponents are welcome to all the satisfaction they can get out of this, considering that we now-a-days recognise the efforts of the above named thinkers to be getting on for a century out of date so far as their ideal reconstruction of society is concerned. Their criticisms of existing society, however, still hold good, and have been preserved by the analysis of Marx and placed upon "the solid rock" as Engels terms it.

The law of evolution holds good in the realm of theory no less than in the physical world; consequently Socialism could hardly be expected to spring itself on the world full-fledged and complete. Its germ came into being as the result of certain definite historical events, and has developed alongside of the full fruition of other results of these events.

About the middle of the eighteenth century mechanical industry took its rise, seized upon trade after trade until by now it has revolutionised the entire character of the production of wealth converting isolated groups of workers into a vast economic network, and replacing competition between a large number of small manufacturers by that between a small number of Titanic concerns.

Early on it commenced to intensify the poverty of the workers and widen the gulf between them and their employers, and it was these facts, following on an increase of wealth produced, that gave the Utopians the data for their criticisms. Hard on the heels of the industrial revolution in England followed the political upheaval in France which, in its turn, left the workers there worse off than before. Thus almost simultaneously the application of science to production and the establishment of "liberal institutions," so far from improving the condition of the majority of the people, brought increased misery for them.

This glaring contradiction could hardly fail to arouse the curiosity of such members of the educated class as had not completely prostituted their intellectual faculties to the service of the new capitalist order of society, and out of the genuine research thus developed arose certain definite critical opinions which extended to the conventionalities of society, religion, the State, marriage, etc., in addition to its economic basis, i.e., private property.

As yet, however, the class antagonism had only manifested itself in spasmodic conflicts such as the machine smashing riots, consequently these original critics of society had nothing to point to as the factor which was to supplant the existing structure by a new one. The organised revolt of the workers against exploitation was quite foreign to their notions. Hence they had to imagine some way out and started experiments according to elaborate schemes for the regulation of communal affairs. They ignored the fact that it was the new industrial change that made a social change possible, and cut themselves off from that change by forming small groups of co-operators and endeavouring to be independent of the rest of society. Such ventures were foredoomed to failure, not because of some imaginary innate individualism of mankind as some self-styled "practical people" insist, but by reason of their insufficient economic basis. To these ideal fantasies the term "Utopian" can correctly be applied. Curiously enough, however, it was the further development of industry and the growth of the class-war which simultaneously scotched them and gave birth to the scientific Socialism of the Communist Manifesto.

In the early half of the nineteenth century the workers commenced to organise for the conflict with capital. Trades Unions sprang up and the movement for political rights, Chartism, came into being. The fact that these first efforts did not realise the sanguine aspirations prompting them rendered necessary a scientific analysis of the conditions of the field of battle; in other words, the pressing of critical research to fundamental issues. This led to the discovery of the actual method by which the workers are ex-

ploited and condemned to poverty, and of the necessary outcome of the consequent struggle, i.e., the conquest of political power by the workers and the abolition of exploitation by the conversion of the implements of social production into common property.

The key to the future was obtained not by imagination but by science. The class-war, which is the basic fact upon which modern Socialism as a theory rests, is no mere fantasy but bitter truth.

Socialism, i.e., the criticism of existing society and speculations concerning the future was only Utopian so long as the class-war between wage-earners and capitalists was in its rudimentary stages. No sooner did this struggle develop into the most vital and glaring phenomenon of social life than Socialism became a science. On the other hand, Utopianism, i.e., the deliberate attempt to plan beforehand a social ideal, while it became obsolete, nevertheless persisted in a new form. Instead of being part of an honest criticism of society it became a phase of capitalist politics. The more the workers commenced to chafe against their fetters, the more necessary it became from the capitalist view-point to provide them with visions of economic improvement. The "practical" class, which had scorned the earlier Utopians' plea for social harmony on the ground that struggle was the law of life, now became anxious that the workers should not put this notion into practice. Hence the "brotherhood of capital and labour" became a most respectable doctrine, and all capitalist legislation took on the form of measures for "the amelioration of the lot of the masses." Every blessed section of the ruling class developed its own special kind of social policy. The Tory landowners boomed factory legislation, the Radical manufacturers went in for anti-Corn-Law agitation, all apparently for the benefit of the class they were mutually plundering, i.e., the working class. All the latter had to do was to allow the masters to continue to wield the political machine.

So soon as the workers acquired the franchise (as a result of the competition of different sections of the masters for their support) a new aspect of the question arose. In spite of all the promises of Tory and Radical, the onward march of machine industry rendered life ever more burdensome to the workers and the class conflict more acute. The science of revolution spread, much to the rulers' dismay. A more elaborate Utopia became necessary to play the will-o'-the-wisp; and the more nearly it caricatured the revolutionary policy the better.

"Advanced wings" of the capitalist parties composed of "middle-class" parasites, journalists, lawyers, parsons, professional intellectuals of every description arose with a "new Socialism" which had the advantage of not being revolutionary—oh! dear no!—while it appeared on the surface to grant all that the "extremists" asked for. All that was done was to substitute the capitalist "State" for the "community" in the revolutionary formula.

From the standpoint of the capitalist, of course, there is no difference between the words. What community does he know of other than the organisation of his class? A community of organised workers is to him something outside the realm of "practical politics."

To the genuine Socialist, however, the gradual purchase by the State of various concerns is but a phase of capitalist evolution. There is in it nothing more Socialistic than in the transformation of "private firms" into joint stock companies. In each case the transaction is conducted on approved business lines, the nominal ownership of material things being exchanged for interest bearing credit. Which means, for the worker, continued exploitation. Practical isn't it?

Parties whose political prestige is based on the boasting of this sham Utopia can never be anything but the catspaw of the master class: of this the compromise-stained records of the I.L.P. and B.S.P. are sufficient proof.

They may pretend to be building the future "step by step," but their imaginations, like every one else's, are limited to the experience of the past and present. To try and project a detailed castle in the air as "the ideal State" is, therefore, nothing more than wandering round in a circle, for their "details" are all derived

from the capitalist system itself, and can, therefore, never get them out of it, and the Socialist Party of Great Britain is following the only scientific course in opposing their endeavour to get the workers to indulge in such peregrinations.

We are not keen on drawing pictures of the future. Shall slaves imagine freedom they have not known? We are concerned with the vital present, the oppression of our class and our struggle to end it. There is only one way to unite and seize the actual means whereby we live.

There is nothing Utopian about this. All that is lacking is the consciously revolutionary organisation powerful enough to effect the change; and this is growing, slowly maybe, but surely, as the results of the present relations between the workers and the tools they use, force themselves upon our attention, along with the means by which these relations are maintained, i.e., the forces of government.

Every Socialist principle is but the actual reflection of existing circumstances which, when correctly analysed and grasped in their entirety, provide us with the essential programme of a working-class political party.

E. B.

WHY THE LIGHT OF TRUTH SHOULD BE EXTINGUISHED.

There recently appeared a new weekly devoted to matters of interest to those who patronise the Cinema. Its title is "Film Flashes," and one of the flashes that illuminated its first number is reproduced below. It is worth noting as a manifestation of the class war: as one of the methods employed by the master class to suppress anything that would tend to enlighten the workers. The cutting follows.

We should regret to see exhibitors give much prominence to the new Metro picture, "The Bigger Man," recently exhibited at a trade show at the Shaftesbury Pavilion. "The Bigger Man" introduces the highly controversial subject of Capital and Labour, and shows a fight in progress between Strikers and Strike-breakers, which culminates in the appearance of a large body of troops under orders to fire on the mob. *It is obvious at a time like this it would be very unwise, if not dangerous, to awaken thoughts of the old and bitter strife of past years, and we sincerely hope that Ruffels will reconsider their attitude in regard to the release of this picture.* Many of the scenes, which are intended to contrast the great gulf existing between the master and man, are overdrawn, and although these things may portray American labour life correctly enough, they are happily not true in regard to this country. (Italics mine.)

Choice, isn't it?

In these days it is "very unwise, if not dangerous," to comment too freely upon the doings of our masters. (I believe it is considered treason even to whisper to your next-door neighbour that you always preferred Kiel butter to British waggon fat.) Else the writer would dearly like to quote from a few other sources: material is never wanting with which to confute the case for capitalism. Further than this the writer makes no comment, preferring to leave it to thinking readers to provide their own.

MAY FIELD.

In an article in the "Daily Express" (28.9.15) entitled "Kaiser and the Socialists," reference is made to the Kaisers' conquest of the Socialist (so-called) leader of Karlsruhe, one Fendrich, who has been serving with the Kaisers' legions. It seems Fendrich has written his war experiences for the Imperial benefit. An interview resulted and the royal personage shook Fendrich by the hand and thanked him. The scribe says regarding Wilhelm's persuasive way:

He has already convinced men like Scheidemann, Haase, Franke, and all other governmental Socialists. Fendrich is only one more. He will get the Iron Cross. Dr. Sudekum, the Socialist leader, got it.

Yes! And when the International working class cease letting their brains out on hire, all the ruddy lot will get it—where the chopper hit the chicken. Meanwhile we hourly expect some similar royal greatness to be thrust upon us.

B. B. B.

Exigencies of space compel us to hold over the instalment of "Our Case In Brief."

the nation" (1912). On page 43 he said: "The conditions amid which millions of our people are living appear to me to make it natural that they should not care a straw under what rule they may be called upon to dwell, and I can quite understand their want of patriotism." And again on pp. 44 and 45: "Yet recent unimpeachable evidence makes it clear that, to tens of thousands of Englishmen engaged in daily toil, the call to 'sacrifice' themselves for their country must seem an insult to their reason; for those conditions amid which they live make their lives already an unending sacrifice." Thus the late Lord Roberts—a patriot whose integrity Mr. Shirley will not question. It is the "unimpeachable evidence" and the causes thereof that have given ground to the Socialist attitude of which our pamphlet complains, which give rise, in fact, to the whole Socialist propaganda. Remove them, and there will be no anti-Socialist complaints, for there will be no anti-Socialist to complain.

The pamphlet gives two extracts from the Socialist STANDARD, as follows: "The working class is not in our masters' schemes except to afford the latter riotous luxury and, in time of war, providing food for cannon" (July 1915) and "Having no quarrel with the working class of any country, we extend to our fellow workers of all lands the expression of our goodwill and Socialist fraternity, and pledge ourselves to work for the overthrow of capitalism and the triumph of Socialism" (September 1914). Of these extracts, needless to say, we are unashamed. And strange though it may seem in the circumstances, both the quotations are verified at the sources given.

We are told (p. 26): "But the opponents of Socialism can never forget what has been done and said by so many Socialists at a time when the country and the Empire were struggling for their very existence," and again (p. 28) "Patriots one and all will certainly remember what has been said and written during these critical times by Our Enemy At Home." This remembrance will serve its purpose (if it comes to pass), and it is as well that the extracts from our paper are recorded, for in the future we need to justify our attitude, not in the eyes of the capitalist class, but only in those of the working class. It is hoped that these foreshadowed memories will be active when the present awful holocaust has ended. And not only this, but those patriots who are to-day so smitten with war-fever may remember also what has been said by their present day friends. The promises made; the attractions offered; the glittering appeals; the honourable thoughts: let these be remembered and contrasted with the conditions which will then be experienced.

Mr. Shirley goes into the questions of pre-war diplomacy, of opposition to recruiting, of Socialists' sneers at Belgium. He protests against jeering at the German atrocities, forgetful that the war is, in itself, one huge atrocity—a necessary concomitant of that human base called capitalism. Against the Socialists he uses all those weapons that are to-day used by each sect against all others because they do not see eye-to-eye on certain war transactions. Against the Socialists these weapons fail. The powder is wet or else the gun has a faulty bore.

Our attitude, from a working-class standpoint, will bear the light of day and the test of time and truth. Were we to hang our heads in shame at what we have said and done our opponents would immediately be half-victorious. But we are not ashamed; we glory in the fact that during one of the greatest catastrophes that has yet overwhelmed mankind, we have kept our heads—and our feet; we have remained true to our principles. The war is not yet over, and our victory has not yet come, but our present attitude augurs well for the future, and it fits the consciousness of this that disgruntles the capitalist Shirleys.

Perhaps, after the war, one bright little urchin will approach our pamphlet with the well-rehearsed question: "What did you do, Daddy, in the great war?" and Daddy, filling his chest with pompous pride, might reply: "I wrote a pamphlet. I helped to crush Prussian militarism by telling Socialists that which they already knew and convincing those who were never in doubt."

A. L. C.

THE S.L.P. OF AMERICA AGAIN.

The "Weekly People" (New York) returns in its issue of October 16th to the controversy which has been carried on recently in its pages and those of the Socialist STANDARD. Things are in a bad way, however, with the "Weekly People," as is evidenced by the fact that it is forced to strain every nerve to keep its readers amused in order to hide the fact that it has nothing more to contribute to the discussion. It is humbug of the first water, of course, to depict the "S.S." as a band indulging "itself in the sport of furnishing the 'music' which it told the Socialist Labour Party of America it would have to face sooner or later. That humour, however, is only the grimaces our antagonist is indulging in in the hope of detracting attention from the sorry figure it is dancing to the music supplied.

It may be remembered that in our September issue we took from the S.L.P. "Address to the Affiliated Parties of the International Socialist Bureau," the following:

Besides, we believe that after the war is over the political conditions will be so adjusted as to compel the European comrades to give their undivided attention to the question of industrial unionism.

and that we adduced this as disproving our opponents' claim that their Address made "NO attempt to keep the workers from turning their eyes to class-conscious political action." Of course, they don't like to have this brought up against them. This unfortunate utterance, which arises out of their rock-bottom contempt for SOCIALIST political action, they think we should have been blind to. That it appeared in an Address issued by the Executive of the S.L.P. to the International Movement is nothing. It should be ignored, regarded as a meaningless vapouring—or if it was referred to at all it should have been accompanied by its context with special annotation making clear that, though the authors of the Address said in this place that they thought that after the war the European comrades would have to abandon political action ("give their undivided attention to the question of industrial unionism"), other parts of their Address indicated that they didn't think anything of the kind. If we had only done that we should have produced harmony that our opponents would have been delighted to dance to. Also it would have saved them the trouble of playing that dreary waltz themselves.

For this is all they have been able to achieve. The statement in the Address that its authors thought that after the war political conditions will be so adjusted as to compel the European comrades to give their undivided attention to the question of industrial unionism is plain enough for anything. How this is to come about might be open to astonishing explanation, it is true, but no explanation that does not demolish the statement can affect its definite pronouncement that its authors think that after the war the European comrades would be compelled to give their UNDIVIDED attention to the question of industrial unionism. The statement does not depend on its context. To insist on the context is simply to whine to be allowed to drop the statement out.

Now it is clear that the same adjustment of "political conditions" that the S.L.P. Executive conceive of as compelling "the European comrades to give their UNDIVIDED attention to the question of industrial unionism" must perforce compel them to cease bestowing any of that attention upon political action. No appeal to the "context" can alter this fact, nor can any sarcastic references to "ingenious logic-choppers who are more concerned with the twisting away of words and the fitting together of phrases to a syllogistic subtlety than they are in gathering the meaning or extracting the essence of an argument or declaration." There is a rich roll in all that, but it is so familiar. The illogical cornered usually raise the cry, "logic-choppers." But if there is any other "meaning or essence" in the declaration than that which we have found, why do not our opponents "extract" it for us?

They do not because at the very bottom they do not believe in the vital necessity for political

action. In spite of the reiteration of the demand for political organisation this note of disbelief in the essential need for political action runs through the Address. The vagueness of this document makes it difficult to illustrate this by extracts (which also have the disadvantage of leaving behind a "context"), but the atmosphere of the Address has been translated in an answer to a correspondent in the "Weekly People" of Sept. 4th in which it is said:

If the Socialist forces of Europe had been industrially organised, and when we say "industrially organised" we mean revolutionarily industrially organised, they could with their present numbers have PREVENTED THE OUTBREAK OF THE WAR.

There it is, plain enough. In spite of the fact that the S.L.P. recognises that the "European comrades" are "so enmeshed in bourgeois politics" that they have lost sight of Socialism—in other words, they are politically rotten—yet there is no single word in the reply to their correspondent to indicate that that political rottenness is even a factor in the failure of the International in the face of the crisis of August 1914. This contempt for the political weapon, prevailing in the Address, belies all our opponents' mouthings about being "committed to class-conscious political action."

The fact is the S.L.P. have not grasped the true aim of Socialist political action—the real value of the political weapon. De Leon never grasped them, and those who still preach his absurdities, being mentally bound by the legacy of shallow thought he bestowed upon them have no glimmering conception of the true function of the political weapon in Socialist hands.

On the 10th July, 1905, Daniel De Leon delivered an address at Union Temple, Minneapolis, Minnesota. This address was published by the Socialist Labour Party of America under the title: "The Preamble of the Industrial Workers of the World." On pp. 36-7 of that publication De Leon is reported as saying:

The bourgeois shell in which the Social Revolution must partly shape its course dictates the setting up of a body that shall contest the possession of the political Robber Burg by the Capitalist Class. The reason for such initial tactics also dictates their ultimate goal. THE RAZING WITH THE GROUND THE ROBBER BURG OF CAPITALIST TYRANNY. The shops, the yards, the mills, in short, the mechanical establishments of production, now in the hands of the Capitalist Class—they are all to be "taken," not for the purpose of being destroyed, but for the purpose of being "held";

It is exactly the reverse with the "political power." That is to be taken for the purpose of ABOLISHING IT. Suppose that at some election the class-conscious political arm of Labor were to sweep the field; suppose the sweeping were done in such a land-slide fashion that from President down to Congress and the rest of the political redoubts of the capitalist political Robber Burg, our candidates were installed; suppose that, what would there be for them to do? What should there be for them to do? Simply TO ADJOURN THEMSELVES, ON THE SPOT, SINE DIE.

That is the conception De Leon had of the end of political conquest. His idea of "razing with the ground the robber burg of capitalist tyranny" was simply to capture the machinery of Government and instantly abandon it. His idea of a political organisation was a body so hide-bound that it could have no consciousness outside politics. It could not know that its economic counterpart purposed "taking and holding" the "plants of production and distribution," therefore it could not continue to hold the "robber burg of capitalist tyranny," in order that it might control the armed forces that the capitalists have provided against any attempt to take and hold their property. No, that (says De Leon) "would be usurpation." The elected representatives could only "adjourn themselves sine die." They could not even stop to take away the policeman's baton and disband the armed forces, to make things easier for the economic arm in its task of taking and holding.

Where such a conception as this exists of the political triumph how can there be any fundamental belief in the essential necessity for political action—or any respect for it? If the political triumph means no more than the capture of the enemy's guns and the immediate abandonment of them to the enemy again, then we also should say to blazes with political effort. If the political triumph would still leave the armed forces and other instruments of oppression in the capitalist control, then we also might

pass as near enough the S.L.P. dictum that the "economic organisation [is] . . . the only conceivable force with which to back up the ballot"—which wouldn't then be worth backing up. If nothing more was to be gained by political conquest than the S.L.P. imagine, then we should have to find a sole reason for political endeavour in De Leon's ingenious argument that the institution of the suffrage "is so bred in the bones of the people that . . . chimerical is the idea of expecting to conduct a great Movement, whose palpable aim is a Socialist Revolution, to the slogan of 'Abstention from the Ballot-box.'"

But we have other views regarding the political weapon—views which prevent us from harbouring even a thought of such shallow and cynical expediency, the mere expression of which reveals a contempt for the true function of Socialist political action which give the lie to our opponents' claim to political integrity.

But there is more music to come on this phase of the discussion. The report of the First Convention of the Industrial Workers of the World quotes (p. 226) De Leon as saying:

The situation in America . . . establishes the fact that the "taking and the holding" of the things that labor needs to be free can never depend upon a political party. (Applause.) If anything is clear in the American situation it is this: That if any individual is elected to office upon a revolutionary ballot, that individual is a suspicious character. (Applause.) Whoever is returned elected on a program of labour emancipation; whoever is allowed to be filtered through by the political inspectors of the capitalist class; that man is a carefully selected tool, a traitor to the working people, selected by the capitalist class. (Applause.)

These well-applauded but dismal sentiments lead to the logical conclusion that political endeavour is futile. Surely, in face of such a hopeless situation the only sensible thing to do is to foreclose on the political organisation and have done with it. Any talk of dismantling the capitalist "political Robber Burg," if this is the position, is sheer rainbow-chewing. It does, however, throw an illuminating ray over that passage where we are accused of having torn from its context, and justifies our reading of it. For if, as the S.L.P. Address tells us, the "country that is more developed industrially [America] only shows to the less developed the image of its own future," then when the political situation described by De Leon as existing in America, develops in Europe, the "European comrades" will probably be forced into the non-political lines of action prophesied for them by the S.L.P. That, however, only substantiates what we said, that the Address was a deliberate attempt to prevent the workers from turning their eyes to class-conscious political action.

Now for another point. We challenged our opponents upon their implication that the action of those who "have become so enmeshed in bourgeois politics that they have lost sight of the ultimate goal of the Socialist Movement" can be Socialist action. "Ha," laughs the "Weekly People," "how the challenge rings—calling upon us to prove, if we maintain it, that the action of those" and so on. If they maintain it! What caution! To confirm our view of the matter we quote the Address as follows:

We recognise the fact that the Socialists of Europe have been confronted with many problems which had to be solved before the real issue, Socialism versus Capitalism, could be decided. These problems have been largely of a political nature. Politically, Europe as a whole is far behind the United States. Here the issue is clear and clear, Socialism versus full-grown Capitalism. Not so in Europe. There large remnants of feudalism remained, blocking the path of Socialist revolutionary progress, and the attention of the European comrades has therefore been given almost exclusively to these problems, with the result that they have become so enmeshed in bourgeois politics that they have apparently lost sight, for the moment at least, of the ultimate goal of the Socialist movement.

And now this from the "Weekly People" of Dec. 12, 1908:

The enlightened conduct of the German Social Democracy will be misunderstood only by the pure and simple Socialist politician of America. For the identical reason that the German Social Democracy deserves applause for temporarily suspending its Socialist work and assisting the bourgeois Radicals, such a policy in America deserves condemnation only. . . . As an applauder of the German Social Democracy, the S.L.P. of America rejects, for America, the tactics that German conditions demand.

The S.L.P., then, applauded those tactics of the German Social Democratic Party which led to the latter "becoming so enmeshed in bourgeois politics that they have apparently lost sight, for the moment at least, of the ultimate goal of the Socialist movement." They praised that "enlightened conduct" which culminated in the vote of credit for the war. In face of that endorsement of action which has had so sad a result one might expect a little caution in replying to the question whether the actions of such people can be Socialist action. If they maintain it, indeed! Let them deny that they maintain it and they are up a tree; let them admit it and they concede the point.

And we are here up against the whole crux of the matter, which is that it is this building of the political organisation on an unsound basis and with unsound material, the following of that corrupt and rotten path of political opportunism so vigorously applauded by the S.L.P., which is responsible for the failure of the International in the present crisis (and that failure is not that it did not prevent the war [which was beyond its power in any event], but that it did not maintain the Socialist position).

As we have said, it was in order to hide this result of the political opportunism they had applauded, and to turn the workers from the political means to industrial unionism that the S.L.P. Address was issued. It is clear that the S.L.P. could hardly denounce conduct they had themselves applauded—and practised. In 1907 the mine-owners in Goldfield issued scrip, and demanded that their wage-workers should accept it as payment for wages. This led the "Weekly People" (Dec. 21, 1907) to issue a touching, cap-in-hand "Open Letter" to the "Robber Burg of capitalist tyranny" in America (Congress) identifying the interest of the occupants of that "Robber Burg" and the workers in the following words:

An issue has arisen in which Labor and intelligent Capital, Capitalists (if intelligent) and Socialists alike have a common cause. THE CAUSE OF AVERTING SOCIAL CALAMITY.

That is how they "reject, for America, the tactics German conditions demand."

Now then, let us see where this brings us out. The so-called Socialists of Germany, the so-called Socialists of France, the so-called Socialists of Britain, have all acted under the same specious plea as the S.L.P. The threat of the "foreign foe" was in their idea a threat of "social calamity," and like the S.L.P., they made "common cause" with the capitalists to avert it. Thus the American pseudo-Socialists who say that the "capitalists and the Socialists alike have a common cause—the cause of averting social calamity," and the pseudo-Socialists of Europe who say (as the German "Socialists" are reported to have told their Belgian comrades at the Maison du Peuple in Brussels) "as the development of the proletariat was bound up with the development and economic prosperity of the nation, German Socialists were bound to side with the Government," are tarred with the same brush, and may be feathered with the same feathers.

Which is why the S.L.P. still claim that those in Europe who have lost sight of Socialism are "still the Socialist movement of Europe."

There are one or two other points in our opponents' latest screed which may be dealt with at a future date; but meanwhile, would the S.L.P. spokesman like to confirm and explain that champion idiocy propounded in the Address—that industrial unionism is the embryo, the undeveloped form of future society? Or has he not the courage?

A. E. J.

When Seddon, as president of the T.U. Congress, addressed the delegates, the Press scribes showered unstinted praise upon him for a more than usually "brilliant" speech. But listen to this, from a contemporary:

The Chairman's address, capital in itself, was marred by the fact that printed copies of it had been circulated to the delegates beforehand. It might as well have been taken as read!

Dear! Dear! How very distressful! For the brilliant assembly had not only the pain of reading it, but a second dose in the reciting of it by the writer. Still, they deserve all they get.

B. B. B.

WORDS TO THE WISE.

Men are running short—save the kids!

Capitalism is no longer a system, it's a bloody mess.

Socialism, therefore, is not a mere theory, it's a necessity.

In short, Socialism is not a dream, though capitalism is a nightmare.

To do nothing to end it is to maintain the regime of murder and robbery.

Socialism, said the holy friar, will destroy civilisation; well! what is capitalism doing?

Churchill has gone to the front. Now perhaps we shall soon hear of the Germans being gassed.

There is one certain remedy for Socialism, said the statesman, and that is war! But will capitalism survive it?

Bill Nye said: "It is the duty of the great orator to howl for war, and then hold some other man's coat while he fights." The orators are not tired yet.

The workingman who votes for and champions the class that robs him is like the ill-treated cur that licks the hand that thrashed it.

Oh yes! The boss and his workers are partners. They do everything and he gets everything. They do the work and he does them.

A lesson in Eugenics
Lady:—Have you any experience of children?
Woman:—No, Ma'am, I've always worked in the best families.

The "Daily Mail" says: "Single Men First." It wants cheap soldiers, but that's not all. It was stated during the South African War that the "Mail" was staffed by office boys. Since then it appears they've all got married. Hence the noble offer of the single men first. It recalls what Artemus Ward wrote to King Edward: "I have already given two cousins to the war, and I stand ready to sacrifice my wife's brother rather than see the enemy crushed. And if wuss comes to wuss, I'll shed every drop of blood my able-bodied relations has got to prosekoot the war."

It was pay-day and the wage-slave crawled into the pay-office of the Gas Light and Coke Company. A shiver ran down his back as his eye fell on the "writing on the wall":

"ONLY SEVENTEEN MORE DAYS!"

GO! DON'T BE PUSHED!

"It's come at last!" he gasped, staggering forward to meet his fate. "This means the sack—and another bloomin' volunteer!"

A minute later the wage-slave was being carried out on a stretcher.

"It wasn't the poster as did it, Maryann," the wage-slave was explaining. "But arter readin' 'only seventeen more days, go, don't be pushed!' and then ter find, instead bein' pushed they'd given us all a bob-a-week rise—and without arstin', rekerlec; without arstin'—that's what done it. That's the third without ever bein' arst. Lumme, they don't arf luvus these days, they don't, not arf!"

THE SLACKER.

STOCKPORT.

Will those sympathising with our principles living in or around Stockport communicate with TOM SALA, 48 MAYFIELD GROVE, REDDISH LANE, HORTON, from whom all particulars as to joining etc. can be obtained.

SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

HEAD OFFICE:

192, GRAYS INN ROAD, LONDON, W.C.

BRANCH DIRECTORY.

BATTERSEA.—All communications to A. Jones, 3 Mathew St., Latchmere St., Battersea, S.W.

BIRMINGHAM. E. Jesper, Secy., 74, Murdock-rd., Handsworth, Birmingham. Branch meets at Coffee House, Special-st., Bull Ring, 8 p.m. 1st & 3rd Mondays.

CENTRAL.—Membership obtained only through the Executive Committee. Applications should be sent to the General Secretary.

EAST HAM.—Communications to Secy., at Hartlev Ave. School, Wakefield-st., where Branch meets alternate Tuesdays at 8.30 p.m.

EAST LONDON. A. Jacobs, Secy., 78 Eric-st., Mile End, where branch meets 1st and 3rd Monds.

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SOUTHEND-ON-SEA.—Communications to J. Bird, 28 Christchurch-rd., Southend-on-Sea. Branch meets alt. Sundays 10.30 a.m. at "Liberty," 6, Hermitage-rd., Westcliff-on-Sea.

STOKE NEWINGTON.—All communications to Secretary, at 10a, Farleigh-rd., where Branch meets every Monday, 8.15.

TOOTING.—All communications to Secretary, 127 Upper Tooting Rd., where Branch meets on Wednesdays at 8.30.

TOTTENHAM.—Communications to the Secy., 224, High-rd., Tottenham, where Branch meets every Monday at 8. Rooms open every evening.

WALTHAMSTOW.—D. G. Lloyd, Secy., 48, Badlis-rd. Walthamstow. Branch meets every Monday at 8.30 at the Workman's Hall 84, High-st.

WATFORD.—A. Lawson, Secy., 107 Kensington-ave. Branch meets Wednesdays 7.30 p.m. at Johnson's, 112 High-st. Public discussion at 8.45.

WEST HAM.—All communications to Secretary at Boleyn Dining Rooms, 469, Green St., Upton Park, where Branch meets alternate Mondays at 7.30.

WOOD GREEN.—C. Revelle, Secy., 53 Maidstone Rd. New Southgate. From Jan. 11 Branch meet alternate Mondays at 8.30, at School Hall, Brook-rd., Wood Green.

THE POTTERIES.

All sympathisers with the Party living in or about Stoke, Fenton, Hanley, Crewe, and Newcastle-under-Lyme should communicate with

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"Weekly People" (New York).
 "British Columbia Federationist" (Vancouver).
 "Freedom" (London).
 "Cotton's Weekly" (Canada).
 "Appeal to Reason" (Kansas).
 "International Socialist" (Sydney).
 "Western Clarion" (Vancouver).
 "Socialist" (Melbourne).
 "Washington Socialist" (Washington).
 "New Age" (Buffalo, N.Y.).
 "Industrial Union News" (Detroit).

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OF GREAT BRITAIN.****OBJECT.**

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community

Declaration of Principles

THE SOCIALIST PARTY of Great Britain

HOLDS—

That society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master class, and the consequent enslavement of the working class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.

That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce and those who produce but do not possess.

That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

That as in the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind, without distinction of race or sex.

That this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.

That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working-class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.

That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

The Socialist Party of Great Britain, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP.

Those agreeing with the above principles and desiring enrolment in the Party, should apply for membership form to secretary of nearest branch or at Head Office.

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